

The JOURNAL of the AMERICAN MILITARY HISTORY FOUNDATION

VOL. I	WINTER, 1937-1938	No. 4
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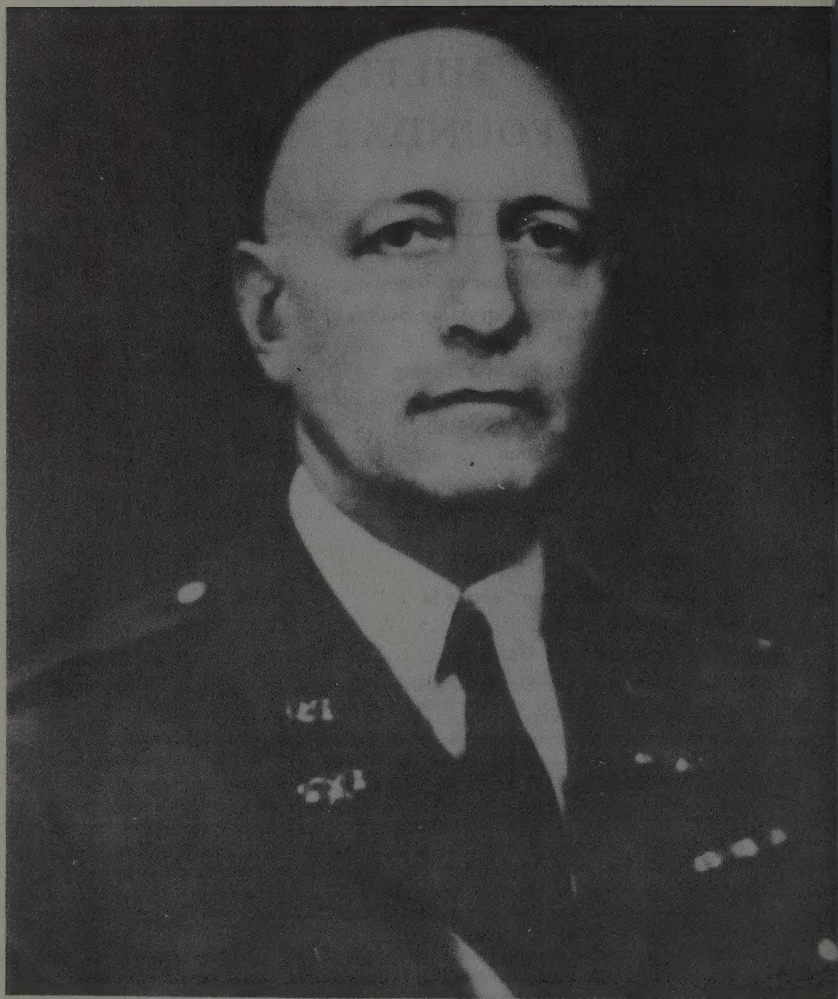
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The JOURNAL is published quarterly by the American Military History Foundation of 3022 Porter Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., which supplies one copy of each issue to all members without charge. The subscription price is three dollars a year (postage prepaid).

All correspondence should be addressed to *Fred P. Todd, Secretary, Box 382, Benjamin Franklin Station, Washington, D. C.*

Application pending for entry as second-class matter at the Post Office at Washington, D.C.

Printed in the United States of America, by the New York Lithographing Corporation, New York, N. Y. Composition by Oscar Leventhal, New York, N. Y.



COLONEL CHARLES E. T. LULL

See page 174

A STOLEN MARCH: COLD HARBOR TO PETERSBURG

BY JOSEPH MILLS HANSON*

By students of the overland campaign of 1864 in Virginia it will be recalled that after the severe repulse suffered by his troops on June 3 of that year in their assault on the Army of Northern Virginia at Cold Harbor, General Grant became convinced that he could not break through the Confederate lines and capture Richmond from the north or northeast. He further concluded that the chances of success were not sufficiently good to justify him in attempting another turning movement around General Lee's right flank in the limited maneuvering space which still remained between the James River and his own left at Cold Harbor.

Only one alternative therefore remained open. This was to carry the Federal army across the James River, in what General Beauregard shrewdly foresaw as a continuation of his "rotary motion around Richmond,"¹ and to attack the Confederate capital from the south by way of Petersburg. Such a movement would place his army in a position to cut the railways by which both Richmond itself and Lee's army received their supplies from the South, and might result in forcing the abandonment of the Confederate capital and the retreat of Lee's army to the interior of the Confederacy.

In executing such a maneuver it would become necessary for the base of supplies of the Army of the Potomac to be moved from White House, on the Pamunkey River, to some point on the James River. But, thanks to the absolute control of the sea enjoyed by the Federal navy, that army's communications with the North were by water and the change of its water base from one river to the other presented no insuperable difficulties, provided it could be accomplished without interference by Lee's army, whose attacks had so greatly imperilled McClellan's operations while he was making a similar change of base in 1862. However, to maintain the secrecy which would insure the achievement of the contemplated movements undisturbed called for a high order of skill on the part of Grant and his principal army commander, Meade, in concealing their intentions from their antagonist, coupled with a precision of maneuver by the many elements of the army under them which could not be expected from any save well experienced subordinate commanders and veteran troops. In the event, Grant and the Army of the Potomac accomplished successfully the most brilliant operation of the overland campaign, which up to that time had consisted mainly of hard knocks, little distinguished by finesse.

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As early as June 5 Grant advised Halleck, in Washington,² of his intention to carry the Army of the Potomac across the James River. On the 11th of that month he wrote to General Meade a letter which we would today call a "directive,"³ in which he informed the army commander that the movement theretofore agreed upon for marching his army to the James should be begun on the night of June 12. In addition, he briefly prescribed the general routes to be followed by the army and its trains in reaching the James, and suggested the missions to be performed by certain of the army corps.

The directive from the lieutenant general commanding the armies was followed on the same day by General Meade's detailed orders for the movements of the several corps and the covering detachments.⁴

Some days previous to the issuance of the marching orders, actual preparations looking to the evacuation by the army of its Cold Harbor positions and its withdrawal toward the James had been begun. In the absence of General Sheridan with two divisions of the Cavalry Corps on a raid toward Gordonsville, Wilson's 3rd Cavalry Division, two brigades, was alone furnishing the service of security and information for the army. On June 6 Wilson's Second Brigade, under Chapman, deployed along the north bank of the Chickahominy, on the left and rear of the Federal positions at Cold Harbor, and picketed the crossings as far downstream as Windsor Shades, three miles east of the present Providence Forge.⁵ The cavalry extended from there up river to Bottom's Bridge, where it connected with a division of the Fifth Corps (Warren), which guarded the river crossings from that point to the left flank of the main army near Cold Harbor.⁶

On June 9 Major Michler, Acting Chief Engineer of the Army of the Potomac, under orders selected and proceeded to fortify a withdrawal position about a mile in rear of the front line at Cold Harbor.⁷ This position was some two miles in length, designed to be held by two divisions which could insure the rearward movement, without molestation, of the rest of the army from its works in the immediate front of the enemy, and protect its further march southeastward.

Under the terms of the army order Wilson's division of cavalry and Warren's 5th Corps, the latter numbering about 19,000 troops, were charged with securing the right flank of the army against attack during the march to the James. Chapman's cavalry brigade was to cross the Chickahominy at Long Bridge at dark of June 12, and move west on the road toward White Oak Swamp bridge and the Charles City and New Market cross roads. The point last mentioned in the campaign of 1862 had been called by its proper name, Glendale, but in that of 1864 it was usually referred to as Riddell's Shop.

The cavalry was to clear the road for the 5th Corps, which would follow it across the Chickahominy on a pontoon bridge. One light pontoon division, consisting of eight canvas pontoon boats, and one heavy division of eight

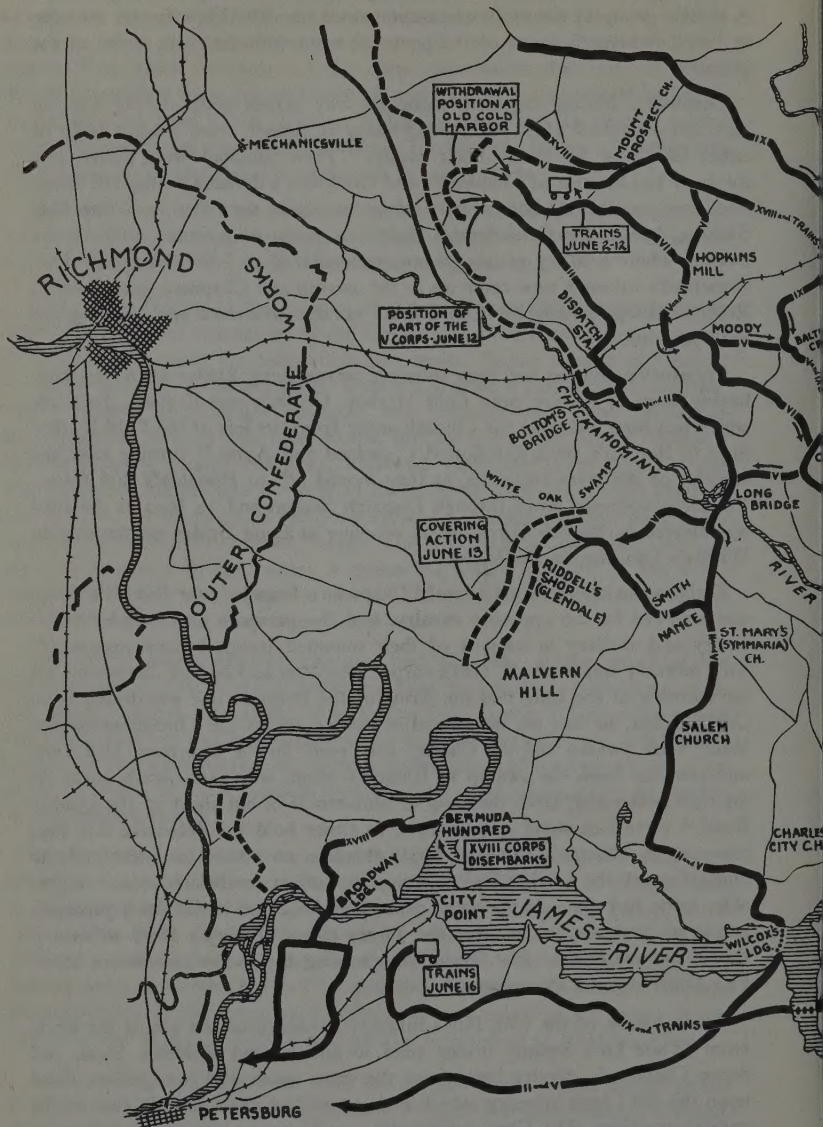
wooden boats, accompanied the 5th Corps for the crossing at Long Bridge. A similar group of sixteen boats accompanied the 6th Corps for its crossing at Jones' Bridge. The rest of the pontoons went with the main trains of the army.⁸

Chapman's leading regiment made its way across about 10:00 P.M. on logs and driftwood after overcoming sharp resistance from a small body of either Cary's or W. H. F. Lee's cavalry.⁹ Then pontoons were gotten into the river and the rest of Chapman's and Crawford's division of the 5th Corps went over on them.¹⁰ The cavalry advanced about six miles to White Oak Swamp, driving the Confederates back to a prepared position north of the swamp, where artillery resistance was encountered at 7:00 A.M., June 13.¹¹ Crawford's infantry now came up to the swamp and Chapman pushed on to Riddell's Shop, driving the Confederate cavalry westward and securing the road junction.

Crawford's division had been followed across Long Bridge by Ayres, both having been in reserve near Cold Harbor. Griffin's and Cutler's divisions, which had been picketing the Chickahominy from the left of the Cold Harbor lines to Bottom's Bridge, followed Crawford and Ayres,¹² turning over the security of the river crossings, as they moved off, to Hancock's 2nd Corps. The latter followed down through Dispatch Station and, as soon as the road was cleared by the 5th Corps, began crossing at Long Bridge on the way to Wilcox's Landing, on the James.

Early in the afternoon of June 13 Chapman's brigade, near Riddell's Shop, was attacked by the opposing cavalry, and the presence of Confederate infantry and artillery in support of their mounted troops became apparent.¹³ This infantry was of A. P. Hill's corps.¹⁴ As soon as Lee had discovered, on the morning of the 13th, that the Army of the Potomac had withdrawn from Cold Harbor, he had set his troops in motion across the Chickahominy for White Oak Swamp and the Charles City road. In the afternoon Hill came into position from the swamp to Riddell's Shop, with Anderson's corps on his right, extending from the shop to Malvern Hill, but short of the Quaker Road.¹⁵ Here Lee stood in a position to either hold the defensive line thus taken up if Warren's advance should threaten an attack on Richmond; to himself attack the moving Federal army in flank if conditions became favorable, as he had done on the same ground in 1862; or to fall back promptly across his pontoon bridge over the James above Drewry's Bluff in case it should become evident that Grant was crossing the James somewhere below City Point to assail Petersburg.

Toward dusk of the 13th Hill's infantry advanced on the arc of the circle from White Oak Swamp bridge road to and beyond Riddell's Shop, and drove Chapman's cavalry back from the cross roads and the Quaker Road upon the 5th Corps infantry, which had entrenched itself slightly east of the cavalry positions. The Confederates did not, however, attempt to follow up

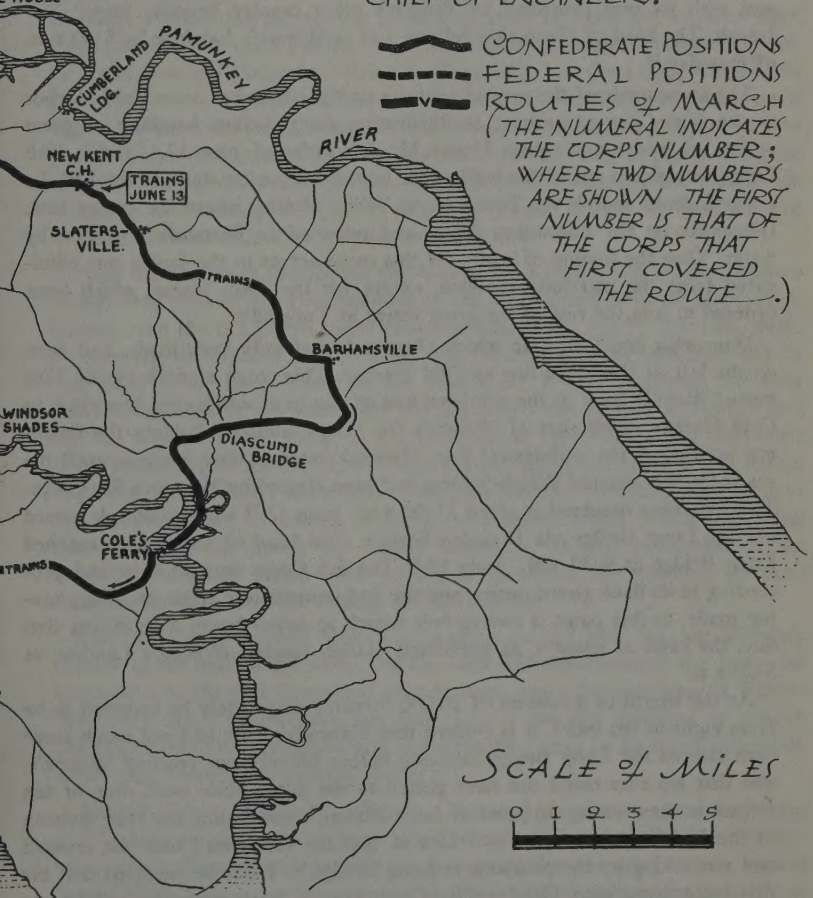


MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE MOVEMENT of GRANT'S ARMY FROM OLD HARBOR TO PETERSBURG • JUNE 1864

BASED ON "MAP OF THE VICINITY OF RICHMOND, VA.
and PART OF THE PENINSULAR" (CHIEF ENGINEERS OFFICE,
D.N. VA., 1864), AND UPON SURVEYS MADE IN
1867 UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
CHIEF OF ENGINEERS.

II CORPS
BARKS

E HOUSE



their advantage, but began entrenching the positions they had gained.¹⁶ During the night Chapman's brigade, following and covering the withdrawing infantry of the 5th Corps, retired upon Saint Mary's Church and Nance's Shop, on the most direct road to Charles City Court House.

The Confederate cavalry followed and kept close contact by sundry small attacks on Wilson's troopers during the 14th, 15th, and 16th, in the territory between Riddell's Shop, Malvern Hill, and Saint Mary's Church, but these attacks in no way disturbed the movement of the Federal army toward the James. Hancock's 2nd Corps, 28,000-strong,¹⁷ had passed Long Bridge and Saint Mary's Church during the 13th, well to the east of the covering troops, and with its rear protected by Wilson's other cavalry brigade, under McIntosh. The head of Hancock's column was at Wilcox's Landing by 5:30 P.M. of that day.¹⁸

The movements of the several columns on their marches from Cold Harbor to the James are interesting, as illustrating the judicious handling of great masses of troops and trains. Under Meade's order of June 11, Smith's 18th Corps was gotten out of the battle zone immediately after dark of the 12th by a short, direct march via Tunstall's to White House, where the troops took transports on the Pamunkey River and returned to Bermuda Hundred by water. Thus the finding of roads for this corps across to the James was eliminated from the marching problem, except for the corps trains, which were ordered to join the rest of the army trains at Tunstall's.

Hancock's 2nd Corps, to which allusion has already been made, had been on the left of the battle line at Cold Harbor. This corps at dark of the 12th moved directly back to the southern end of the new withdrawal line close to Cold Harbor. With part of Wright's 6th Corps similarly holding the northern portion of the withdrawal line, Hancock retained this position until the roads for his own and Wright's corps had been cleared by Warren's 5th Corps. This clearance occurred at about 11:00 P.M., June 12,¹⁹ when Hancock moved out for Long Bridge via Dispatch Station. The head of his column reached Long Bridge at 9:30 A.M., June 13.²⁰ The 5th Corps was all over and proceeding to its flank guard duties, and the 2nd immediately began crossing, having made, to this point, a twelve-mile march in seven hours. Continuing that day, the head of column, as previously stated, reached Wilcox's Landing at 5:30 P.M.

As the length of a column of 28,000 infantry may safely be assumed to be from eight to ten miles, it is evident that Hancock's rear had not much more than cleared the Long Bridge crossing before his advance reached Wilcox's, and that his rear could not have gotten to the latter place until nine or ten o'clock in the evening. In point of fact, Gibbon, commanding the rear division of the 2nd Corps, reported at 3:15 P.M. that the rear guard had just crossed and was taking up the pontoons at Long Bridge.²¹ Later he reported that his division arrived near Charles City Court House "after marching till late at night."²² Warren's divisions, with Crawford in rear and Wilson's cavalry

behind that, had to turn into this road near Saint Mary's Church and follow Hancock after the latter had passed.²³ Something of the problems of space and time involved in moving large bodies of troops on the same road or on converging roads is indicated in the nice coördination of these two corps.

The next columns of march to the east consisted of Wright's 6th Corps, of 20,000 men, and Burnside's 9th Corps, of 18,000.²⁴ Both were routed across the Chickahominy at Jones' Bridge, about five miles below, that is, southeast, of Long Bridge.²⁵ The roads followed by the two corps came together at Emmaus Church, three miles north of Jones' Bridge, and their orders directed that whichever corps reached this point first should have precedence in crossing. The 9th Corps, moving at dark of June 12 from the extreme right corps sector of the Cold Harbor front, and marching from Matadequin Creek by roads near the Pamunkey River to Tunstall's, had the longer distance to go. Moreover, at Tunstall's it had to allow Smith's 18th Corps to pass toward White House before itself crossing the railroad and highway on its way to Jones' Bridge via Emmaus Church. The 6th Corps had only to march from the sector immediately south of the Cold Harbor-Mechanicsville road, via Moody's, to Emmaus Church and thence to Jones' Bridge. Naturally it got to the road junction and to the river crossing first.

Here the engineers, having no resistance, laid a heavy and a light pontoon bridge over each of the two channels of the Chickahominy in an hour and a quarter, and the 6th Corps began crossing about 4:00 P.M.²⁶ Burnside, when he came up, bivouacked for the night near the crossing. He indicated that he was delayed for some hours by the passing of Wright's column, the only delay complained of anywhere. But the 6th Corps was all over by dark,²⁷ and the 9th began crossing early on the morning of the 14th.²⁸ That day these corps reached Charles City Court House and began fortifying a line across Wyanoke Neck from Tyler's Mill to the James River. This line was designed for the protection, if needed, of the great pontoon bridge which was being thrown across the James just below Douthat's, on that neck, and of the army supply trains which were coming in to utilize the crossing, on their roundabout route from the vicinity of Cold Harbor.

The 5th Corps reached Wilcox's Landing on the 14th, leaving Wilson's cavalry in the rear of the army. On the 16th this corps crossed the James on transports, as the 2nd Corps had already done, and advanced toward Petersburg next day.²⁹ Likewise on the 16th the 1st and 3rd divisions of the 6th Corps embarked on transports and ascended the James to Bermuda Hundred, where they reported to General Butler.³⁰

The 9th Corps, less its 4th Division (Ferrero), crossed the pontoon bridge at Wyanoke on the night of June 15 and marched to near Petersburg.³¹ Ferrero, whose division was detailed as rear-guard for the army trains, moved from White House on the evening of June 12 and followed the trains to Diascund Creek and Cole's Ferry, and thence to Wyanoke Neck.³²

Of as much practical interest as the dispositions and marches of any of the corps were those of the army trains, which comprehended all the wheeled transportation of the army excepting a few wagons and ambulances allowed to each corps. Helpless to protect themselves, they constituted the most vulnerable element which an army had to safeguard during its change of base. They consisted of 4,300 wagons, 835 ambulances, approximately 34,000 horses, 22,000 mules, and 2,800 beef cattle; altogether about 60,000 animals.³³ Assuming, conservatively, that each vehicle was drawn by four animals instead of six, at an average road space of twenty yards per vehicle,³⁴ the more than 5,000 vehicles would require about sixty miles of space on a single road.

On June 12 the trains were assembled, as they had been for some days, around Parsley's Mill, in rear of Cold Harbor, on the road to White House. That night they rolled out by the latter place and Cumberland Landing to New Kent Court House, where, covered by Ferrero's division, they awaited, through the 13th, orders for crossing the Chickahominy. Their original instructions had been to cross at Windsor Shades, but the passage there was found impracticable by the engineers owing to wide swamps on the south side of the river.³⁵ Reconnaissances further down stream at length discovered a more practicable crossing at Cole's Ferry. But, beside making the route considerably longer, by way of Slaterville, Barhamville, and Diascund Bridge, the crossing itself was much wider than had been counted upon.

All the wooden and canvas boats in the train, together with those which had been used at Long Bridge and Jones' Bridge, had to be rushed to Cole's Ferry during the 14th and 15th to span a water gap of 1,240 feet. Even then it was necessary to construct timber and corduroy approaches 450 feet in length in order to get over the marshy shores.³⁶ The bridge was finished, however, by three o'clock on the morning of the 15th, and the trains began crossing and proceeding to Wyanoke Neck. Here they passed over the great James River pontoon bridge, beginning at 2:00 P.M. on the 15th, while the last vehicles crossed to the south side of the James at 7:00 A.M. on the 17th.³⁷

After the trains had passed, Wilson's cavalry division crossed.³⁸ General Wright, with the remaining division of his corps, the 2nd Division, evacuated the works on Wyanoke Neck after the passage of the cavalry and marched to the south shore, leaving only Ferrero to protect the troops of the engineer brigade in breaking the bridge and rafting the pontoons. This work was completed at 3:00 A.M., June 18, and the great bridge was a thing of the past.³⁹

The pontoons for this formidable structure had been ordered to the vicinity in which they were to be used on June 12 by General Benham, commanding the Engineer Brigade of the Army of the Potomac. The supply consisted of 155 heavy wooden French pontoons which had been assembled at Fort Monroe.⁴⁰ One hundred and four of them were used in the bridge, which was 2,200 feet in length, in addition to approaches built under the direction of

General Weitzel, Chief Engineer of the Army of the James. It was laid over a stretch of river in which the water was in places 85 feet deep, with a strong current and a daily tidal fluctuation of about four feet.⁴¹ To hold it in place the bridge had to be secured at intervals by cables to three schooners anchored above it and three below.⁴² It was also necessary to provide a draw span for letting essential river traffic through at times.⁴³ Yet this great structure, which is said to have been, up to that time, at least, "the greatest bridge the world has seen since the days of Xerxes," was laid in seven hours, between 4:00 and 11:00 P.M., on June 15, by the Engineer Brigade, and its removal was completed by the same men between 7:00 P.M., June 18, and 3:00 A.M. the next morning.⁴⁴

In reviewing the activities of the Federal and Confederate armies during the few critical days between Cold Harbor and the James, one is struck by the passive attitude maintained by Lee, so different from the one which he had adopted on the very same ground and under, apparently, quite similar conditions, in 1862. At no time did he attempt to penetrate Grant's screen of flank guards with a view to breaking up the marching columns of troops and trains behind them, or even to discovering where those columns were and whither they were moving. Yet at Glendale, on June 30, 1862, he had thrown his divisions in violent assaults upon McClellan's flank in efforts to destroy his adversary while the latter was between the Chickahominy and the James.

Commentators of later years have found little to criticize and much to praise in Grant's conduct of operations at that time, but some have felt that Lee, in the situation, failed to utilize a rare opportunity. Colonel Matthew F. Steele, a keen analyst of the elements of a military problem, observed that Grant's maneuver belonged "to a class of strategical operations which are considered among the most hazardous and difficult in warfare. It was a flank movement involving the crossing of close and wooded country by narrow roads, and the passage of two difficult streams . . . over which pontoon bridges had to be laid . . . Grant had fifty-odd miles to go, and Lee was in possession of the bridges of the Chickahominy, better roads, and a better knowledge of the country to aid him in attacking the right flank of Grant's columns. . . . But Wilson's cavalry and the Fifth Corps covered its right flank so effectively as to induce Lee to believe that it was making for Richmond by the north bank of the James. . . . When one considers how unexpected the movement was to General Lee, and how long he was left in doubt and uncertainty; how skillfully all the difficulties of logistics were surmounted, and how quickly the movement was made, one must reckon it, in conception and execution, among the very finest achievements of strategy to be found in our military history."⁴⁵

Referring more to Lee's part in the drama than to Grant's, General E. P. Alexander, always notably fair in his judgments concerning erstwhile foes as well as friends, wrote: "The last, and perhaps the best, chances of Confederate success were not lost in the repulse of Gettysburg, nor in any other combat

of arms. They were lost during three days of lying in camp, believing that Grant was hemmed in by the broad part of the James below City Point, and had nowhere to go but to come and attack us. The entire credit for the strategy belongs, I believe, to Grant."⁴⁶

Even more emphatically in the same sense is the distinguished English military writer and World War soldier, Colonel J. F. C. Fuller, one of the most recent and perhaps the most modern-minded of the many biographers of Grant. In 1929 Colonel Fuller declared: "As far as staff duties are concerned, this is surely one of the finest operations of war ever carried out. This astonishing maneuver was effected within a few miles of Lee's army, and, be it remembered, in a hostile country swarming with spies. Why did not Lee strike? Here was presented to him an opportunity of attacking his enemy in detail and in flank, and, in spite of his numerical inferiority, of concentrating superiority of force against a most favorable target. There can be but one answer to this question, namely, that Lee had been completely outgeneralled. An adept in audacious flanking movements, he failed to credit Grant, by reputation a stolid, unimaginative fighter, with an equal daring. He was petrified by Richmond, and imagining that the capital was threatened, on the 13th he moved Anderson's corps over White Oak Swamp, halting it between Malvern Hill and Riddle's Shop, and then Hill was moved to support him.

... "⁴⁷

It might be said in passing that it hardly seems credible that so acute a judge as was Lee of the characters of his opponents could have set down the victor of Fort Donelson and Vicksburg as consistently a stolid, unimaginative fighter. But, be that as it may, there is much to be looked at on the other side of the picture in June, 1864. Although Lee then lay motionless on the ground over which he had attacked so impetuously in 1862, the situations on the two occasions, superficially similar, in reality differed in many essential particulars.

In the Peninsula campaign Lee had only McClellan's army to deal with, but in 1864 Grant's was supported, at least passively, by another army of more than 30,000 men under Butler,⁴⁸ in an unassailable position at Bermuda Hundred. By pushing five or six miles west past Malvern Hill, as he might have done had Lee not been in a position to hold the latter place strongly in case a hostile movement were made against it, Grant could have connected with Butler and established a line on both sides of the James confronting Richmond. Lee had to provide for this contingency, for though he had thus far parried every flanking movement of the Army of the Potomac, had he now involved his main body in an attack on Grant's marching columns near Glendale, he might have left open the way for another, and a successful, flanking thrust.

Again, because Sheridan's raid toward Gordonsville had drawn the bulk of the Confederate cavalry after him, Lee had no adequate mounted force

with which to threaten a swing around Grant's rear which might alarm him for the safety of his great wagon trains, as Stuart had alarmed McClellan.⁴⁹ Hence these trains were free to march much further to the eastward of the protecting infantry than had McClellan's. Grant's confidence in the security of their situation, even at such a distance, was evident from the fact that he considered a single infantry division, Ferrero's, a sufficiently close escort for the trains, whereas McClellan had practically used his whole army in that capacity. The wagons of Grant's army were in no danger of destruction even if Lee had pierced the Federal battle line while it was standing near the Quaker Road between Glendale and Malvern Hill. In 1862 such a stroke would have been ruinous to McClellan, and it was what Lee was then striving for.

Dr. Douglas S. Freeman's exhaustive investigation of General Lee's life and military career has probably discovered every fragment of existing evidence which has an important bearing upon the Southern commander's reasoning and decisions in the many perplexing situations with which he had to deal. Doctor Freeman has pointed out that between June 13 and 17, Lee never knew positively that Grant was crossing the James and going to Petersburg with his whole army for the reason that Beauregard, though constantly reporting, on and after the 15th, that large masses of Federals were attacking that place, did not state or indicate that the entire Army of the Potomac was concentrating there. Meantime Lee, watching the north side of the James, where the opposing army certainly was if it was not before Petersburg, faced the fact that in that region "there were few country roads and those few ran in rough quadrilaterals. By maintaining strong guards at the crossroads, Grant could screen his army effectively. . . . The land favored him by making complete concealment possible within the area he had blocked."⁵⁰

Regardless of other factors, however, probably the most important considerations which influenced Lee against such another vigorous offensive as he had pressed two years earlier, were the consciousness of a far greater disparity of numbers than had existed then, and a sense of his own obligation to save, as far as possible, his own men, who could no longer be replaced.

It is probably near the truth to say that in the operations between Cold Harbor and the James, each of the opposing commanders dealt with his situation as skilfully as could be expected, considering the opportunities presented and the resources which he had in hand. Grant, having the greater resources and the more ample opportunities, achieved, as he should have done, the greater measure of success, though he fell short, through no fault of his own, of the immediate object of his maneuver, the out-of-hand capture of Petersburg.

Notes

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1. *Official Records, War of the Rebellion* (hereafter cited as O.R.), Vol. 36, Pt. 3, p. 886.
2. Ulysses S. Grant, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, pp. 279-81; O.R., Vol. 36, Pt. 3, p. 598.
3. O.R., Vol. 36, Pt. 3, p. 745.
4. " " " 36 " 3, p. 747.
5. " " " 36 " 1, p. 883.
6. " " " 36 " 1, p. 302.
7. " " " 36 " 1, p. 302.
8. " " " 36 " 3, p. 749.
9. " " " 40 " 2, pp. 11; 651.
10. " " " 36 " 1, p. 902.
11. " " " 36 " 1, p. 883.
12. " " " 36 " 3, p. 763.
13. " " " 36 " 1, p. 884.
14. " " " 36 " 1, p. 1060.
15. Douglas S. Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, Vol. 3, p. 402.
16. O.R., Vol. 36, Pt. 1, p. 884.
17. " " " 36 " 1, p. 209.
18. " " " 40 " 1, pp. 303; 316.
19. " " " 40 " 1, p. 316.
20. Ibid.
21. O.R., Vol. 40, Pt. 2, p. 5.
22. " " " 40 " 1, p. 366.
23. " " " 40 " 2, p. 8.
24. " " " 36 " 1, p. 209.
25. " " " 36 " 3, p. 748.
26. " " " 40 " 1, p. 297; Pt. 2, p. 9.
27. " " " 40 " 2, p. 10.
28. " " " 40 " 2, p. 33.
29. " " " 40 " 2, p. 50.
30. " " " 40 " 1, p. 192.
31. " " " 40 " 1, p. 195.
32. " " " 40 " 1, p. 594.
33. " " " 36 " 1, p. 277.
34. *Field Service Staff Manual* (tentative), 1925, p. 112.
35. O.R., Vol. 40, Pt. 1, p. 297.
36. " " " 40 " 1, pp. 297-8.
37. " " " 40 " 1, p. 38.
38. " " " 40 " 1, pp. 209; 620.
39. " " " 40 " 1, p. 211.
40. " " " 36 " 3, p. 772.
41. " " " 40 " 1, p. 676.
42. " " " 40 " 1, p. 677.
43. " " " 40 " 2, pp. 51; 67.
44. *Photographic History of the Civil War*, Vol. 5, p. 244.
45. Matthew F. Steele, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, pp. 528-9.
46. E. P. Alexander, *The American Civil War*, p. 547.
47. J. F. C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Ulysses S. Grant*, p. 385.
48. O. R., Vol. 40, Pt. 1, p. 177.
49. Steele, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, pp. 203; 206.
50. Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, Vol. 3, p. 403.

RESEARCHES INTO THE AMERICAN ARMY BUTTON OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

BY WILLIAM L. CALVER

The study of the earliest types of inscribed buttons of the American army—those of the Revolutionary War—was begun by a small group of enthusiasts about forty years ago. Somewhat later came the discovery of abundant specimens of distinctive buttons of the British regiments which had encamped during the Revolution in and about the present city limits of New York. These finds were made at old camp sites. With the partial exhaustion of yields from these British sites, a systematic search was instituted for old American military stations with the assurance that these also would yield their due quota of the adjuncts to the Continental and state uniforms. At this time our real researches commenced; and it is with this work, rather than with the study of the buttons themselves, that this article is concerned.

The heraldic interest in these American buttons is slight; as a rule the numerical or regimental designation is all that is shown. Yet their medalic and historical value is considerable. They are in many cases the only tangible reminders we have today of the corps which they represent. They attest either the regular or the makeshift character of the uniforms worn by the soldiery of the patriot armies; they speak of the itineraries of the several corps, or of contingents of these corps; and, where maps or geographical data are lacking, their discovery identifies the military sites whose locations have been lost to history.

Of course, care must be taken in the evaluation of this class of evidence. Occasionally American buttons are found on British camp sites, while quite often British regimentals appear in American camps. The former we attribute to prisoners and the latter doubtless came off uniforms captured from the enemy and worn, in dire need, by the Continentals. In certain camps where state troops are known to have been quartered, no distinctive buttons of the regiments present have been discovered, even after diligent search. It is quite probable, in such cases, that the occupants wore buttons of a perishable nature.

It would be well at this time to say a few words about the military button of this period. Since 1768 the British army button had been marked with the regimental number or, in the case of certain corps, with a distinctive device. This practice was followed in the American service where possible, but, due to the absence of regulations, changes in organization, and difficulties of supply, a considerable variety of forms resulted. Military buttons were made in two general sizes, a large size for the coat and a smaller size for the waistcoat. For the enlisted man these buttons were made of "white metal," or, in other words, pewter, cast from a mould in one single piece. Such hand work accounts for their usual crudity. An officer's button, on the other hand, was usually much more elegant and was often of foreign manufacture. They were

composed, quite universally, of a wooden back and a cement filling, covered over by a thin metal face bearing a *repoussé* design of the distinctive insignia; the metal used was either copper—silver-plated—or (block) tin. Of course many American officers and enlisted men wore flat buttons of brass, either plain or figured, but of definite civilian origin.

As stated above, other buttons of a perishable nature were employed. A regiment from Massachusetts had leather buttons, and camp-made buttons of bone and wood, covered with cloth, were certainly worn.¹ We find on old camp sites and barrack dumps many bone button discs, together with the stock from which they were cut and the steel cutters used in the manufacture of these "moulds." Proof also that pewter and lead buttons were made in the camps is not wanting. A definite instance of such manufacture is found in the case of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment, whose lead buttons, finished and unfinished, were found in a refuse pit at Camp Robinson's Farm, Garrison, N. Y. This camp was situated on the property of Beverly Robinson, about one and one-half miles east of the Hudson River, quite near to the present Cat Rock Road. The identical mould from which these buttons had been cast was discovered at New Windsor Camp, Orange County, N. Y.

Revolutionary buttons recovered from certain soils are, when found, much corroded and often in the last stages of decay. Other specimens, owing perhaps to a high percentage of lead in their composition and to favorable conditions of soil, are still almost "factory-new." To account for such serviceable buttons in refuse pits it is surmised that a fastidious soldier found it easier to replace lackluster buttons with ones newly cast than to attempt to refurbish the old. Indeed, evidence of repolishing is unknown among the thousands of British and American specimens found. Doubtless, also, many a button-laden uniform was discarded because it was verminous or too tattered to wear. Many buttons found are without shanks which, of course, rendered them useless to the wearer.

The scenes of our labors in retrieving these bits of equipment lay mostly in the Hudson Highlands—particularly at West Point and the several redoubts which comprised that citadel. We conducted researches on Constitution Island at the bend of the river, the site of a number of redoubts and camps, and also in the mountain fastnesses on the easterly side of the stream. Here we met with some success in our search for what had become known as the "lost camps of the Hudson Highlands." These lost camps were the cantonments established after the fall of the original defensive works of the river in 1777. The latter defenses had consisted of batteries erected in 1775 on Constitution Island and the works known as Fort Montgomery and Fort Clinton, built in 1776 on the westerly side of the river, about six miles to the southward. Following the destruction of these works, new cantonments were laid out, in 1778, to defend the passes through the hills and, being placed near enough to the river, to permit a force to rally and resist an ascent of the Hudson by the enemy. These camps were occupied until the end of the war. The

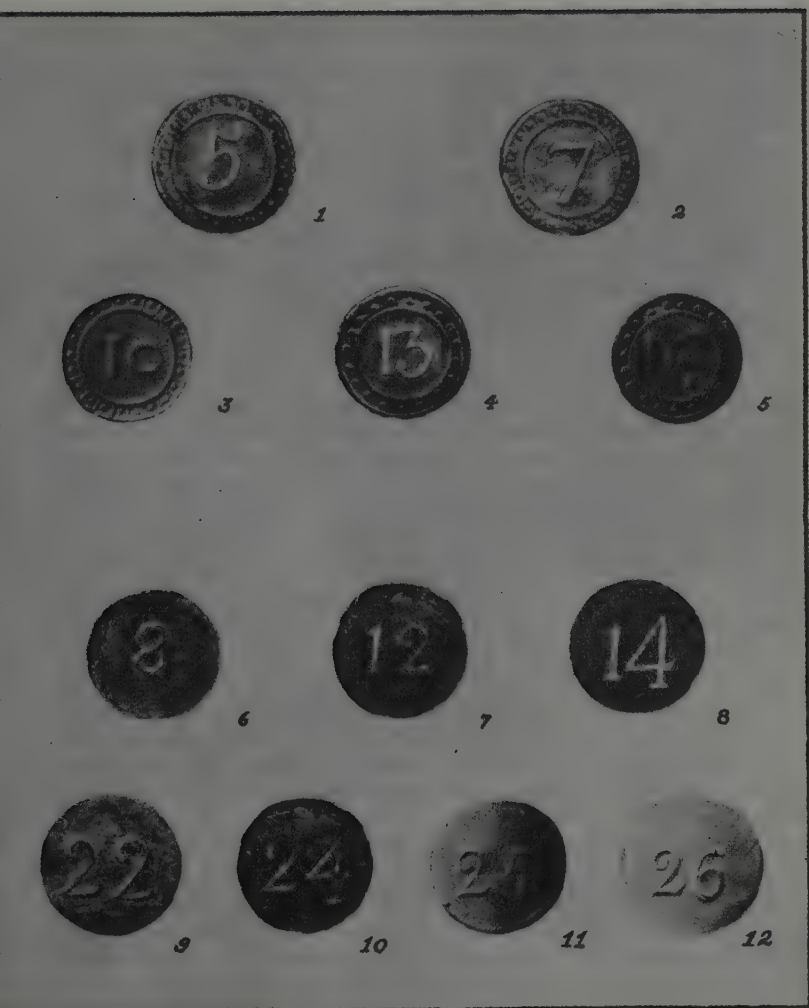


PLATE I

Pewter buttons believed to be of the regiments of the Continental Line of 1776. Specimen 11 reproduced through the courtesy of Captain L. F. Hagglund; the balance found near West Point.

camps found and explored were: Hampshire Huts, Robinson's Farm, and Connecticut Village. Such camps as Soldier's Fortune, New Boston, and York Huts are still to be discovered.

On the easterly side of the river the finds, with the exception of those made at Robinson's Farm, were not prolific; nor were there many discoveries at Redoubts Nos. 1 and 2, to the south of West Point. Yet at Redoubts Nos. 3 and 4 the excavation work was well rewarded and at Fort Wyllys many well preserved and important button specimens were unearthed.

The best of all sites, perhaps, was the slope on the northerly side of "Faculty Row" at West Point. This street, now the residence of certain of the faculty of the Military Academy, is the survival of the old military road to Newburgh. About where Quarters No. 37 stands, there was, in 1779, a large barracks and it seemed reasonable—all regulations to the contrary—that the soldiery, especially at night and in winter, would resort to the steep hillside just across the way as a ready-to-hand dumping place for all manner of discarded material, military and otherwise. The guess was good, for in the fullness of time (with our permit by us) we removed a patch of sod and came immediately upon a rich lead of "pay-dirt." Mingled with the nondescript articles which our sieves gave up were the military objects which identified the site. All the mementoes recovered were of interest but the most welcome were the uniform buttons, found in considerable quantity. On this hillside alone were unearthed samples of most of the Continental types together with a fine assortment of the kind worn by the state troops of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

In considering the various classes of buttons which have been found, let us look first at the Continental type which bears only a number. It will be remembered that the regiments of the Continental Line authorized for 1776 were distinguished by number alone, with no reference in their title to the state from which they came. Certain provisions were made for clothing these troops and for differentiating between the regiments by means of the color of the facings of the uniforms. That it was intended also to issue numbered buttons to these units is made clear by the General Orders of November 13, 1775, in which the new colonels were instructed to make the necessary arrangements with the Quartermaster General so "that the buttons may be properly numbered."² Doubtless this issue was only partially effected for only twelve examples of such numbered buttons, out of twenty-seven which should have existed, have been discovered and even these can not always be positively identified. Furthermore, descriptions of deserters in 1776 and thereafter would appear to indicate that numbered buttons were worn by units other than the Continental Line.³ Nevertheless, the examples shown (Plate I) are almost certainly of the type authorized for Washington's army of 1776.

It is significant that, although specimens 1 to 5 are more ornate in character than specimens 6 to 12, the two groups alternate in their numerals. To account in part for some of the numbers not having been discovered, it might

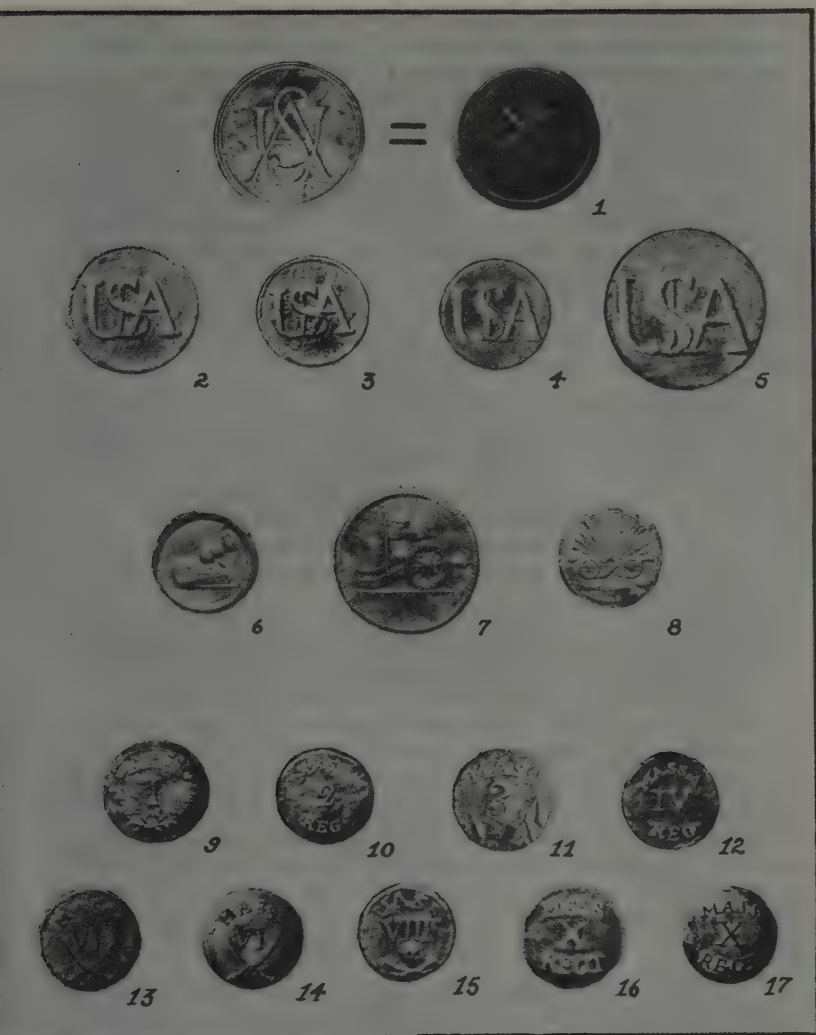


PLATE II

1. Officer's button, Continental Army, tin face with wood back, found on Constitution Island. 2-5. Pewter enlisted men's buttons, Continental Army. 6-8. Bronze buttons, Continental Artillery. 9-17. Small buttons, waistcoat type, of the Massachusetts Line; specimens 14 and 17 are of the officer type with copper faces, silver-plated, and wood backs; the balance are of pewter.

be added, as mentioned above, that some may not have been manufactured. Of the buttons shown, all, save specimen 11, were found in the vicinity of West Point. Specimen 11 was recovered from the *Royal Savage*, one of General Arnold's ships sunk October 11, 1776, in the Battle of Valcour Island and recently raised by Captain L. F. Hagglund. This find clearly establishes the early use of this class of button.

The next, and by far most common type of Continental button is the one which bears the letters "U.S.A." (Plate II, 1-5). Although we do not know exactly when this type was introduced, we can say with some safety—considering the locations at which it has been found and the probable date of the first use of the initials "U.S.A."—that it did not make its appearance before 1777.⁴ The frequency with which this button is found, however, would indicate that its issue was very general after this date.

In 1777 the designations of the Continental Line were altered so that the regiments would bear a state name and number. This resulted in the issue of state buttons, which are dealt with below. There were, of course, a number of organizations which could not be classified under a particular state and it was for them, perhaps, that the general "U.S.A." class was introduced. For example, early in 1779, a deserter from Colonel Flowers' Artillery Artificer Regiment is mentioned as wearing "white buttons having the letters U S A on them."⁵

Of this class two general types of privates' buttons have been recovered. The first and most common type has the monogram upon an otherwise plain face with a raised border, crudely milled; in a rarer type this border is missing. Both types are of pewter. The officers' buttons of this class (Plate II, 1) are much more neatly made and were probably fabricated in France. Although five specimens were found in an old house in New England, only one has been found in a camp—in a refuse pit at Redoubt No. 7, on Constitution Island. These officers' buttons have thin faces of tin with wood backs, after the manner of the French army officers' buttons of their day. For attachment to the garment they have, upon their backs, loops of stout cord, or gut, like those of the British officers of the Revolutionary period. In no case, however, did the British buttons have wood backs—they were universally of bone or ivory.

Another class of Continental button, fairly common in the Hudson Highlands, is that worn by artillerymen. Since early in the war, the four regiments comprising the Corps of Artillery had worn "large yellow regimental buttons" instead of the more common white buttons of other troops. This custom, distinctive for the Artillery and borrowed perhaps from the British, was confirmed by Washington in his orders of October 2, 1779, wherein it is specified that the buttons of the Artillery and Artillery Artificers were to be of yellow. Three distinctive types of this class of button have been discovered, all of which are believed to have been worn by the Artillery. Usually they are made

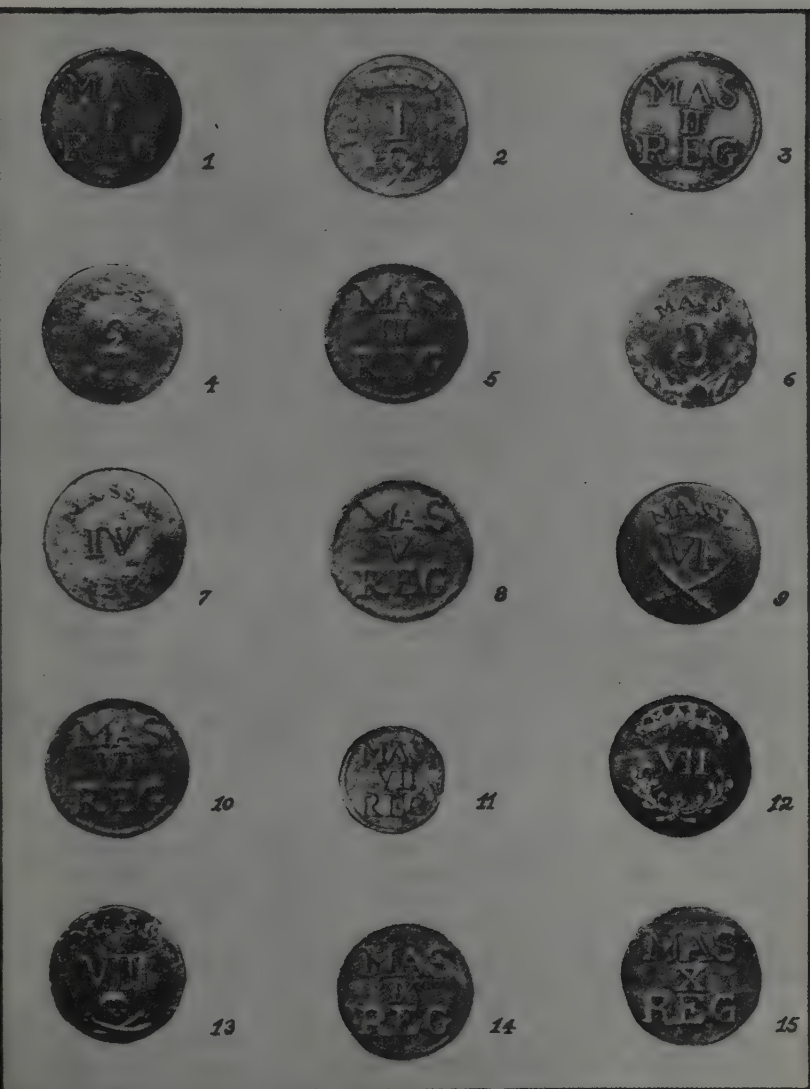


PLATE III

Pewter buttons of the Massachusetts Line found near West Point.

of bronze, although a few specimens made of pewter—probably in emergency—have been recovered. Of these types (Plate II, 6-8) the most interesting shows a mounted field piece, to the trail of which is attached a flag having the British union where now the stars of our union appear. This would indicate that the button was made early in the war, probably as early as 1776. A second type displays a coehorn mortar in its bed and a third type carries two cannon, back to back, over which is a trophy of flags.

Turning now to buttons bearing state designations, we find that the Massachusetts regiments of the Continental Line of 1777-1783, from the 1st to the 10th, are represented in our West Point or Hudson Highlands finds (Plate II, 9-17; Plate III). There is a wide variation in design in these Massachusetts buttons. Most often the designation is expressed in Roman numerals, although the 2nd and 3rd used Arabic at times. By way of decorative effects, half wreaths are shown on some of the 1st and 7th Regiment buttons, while upon some of those of the 3rd Regiment there is a trophy of drums and flags. Among the smaller buttons shown, there are two of the officer type (Plate II, 14 and 17) having silver faces and wood backs. It will be noticed in these two cases that the design is the same for both officers and men. The most significant of all these designs, however, is that on the officers' and privates' buttons of the 8th Massachusetts — a skull and crossbones, the gruesome emblem of the "Bloody Eighth."

Of the Connecticut Line we have buttons representing the 1st to 5th Regiments (Plate IV). Universally upon these Connecticut buttons the regimental numbers are shown in Arabic numerals with the state and regiment indicated in initial letters. One type of the 3rd Connecticut button, however, is unique in having the initial letter of the state made up in dolphin-like figures. Another unusual design is found for the 4th Regiment. On a single specimen discovered at Redoubt No. 4 at West Point there appears an ordinal "4th" and a foliated script monogram "CR."

Specimen 9 on this plate presents a remarkable instance in the discovery and identification of ancient military buttons. This button, when found on the hillside in front of the 1780 barracks at West Point, was in very poor condition, showing upon its face no legible inscription. Careful cleaning, however, brought out in good relief the clearly defined letters "LIy 3 C.R.," indicating the "Light Infantry Company of the 3rd Connecticut Regiment"—undoubtedly the original company organized in 1781. In February of that year this company numbered fifty-four men.⁶ The officers were: Roger Welles, Captain; William Lynn, Lieutenant; and Jacob Kingsbury, Ensign. It was one of the ten companies detached from the Connecticut Line in 1781. These in turn were part of the division of thirty-six companies drafted from regiments of the several states and designed for service in the South. The division, commanded by Lafayette, assisted at the siege of Yorktown. Five

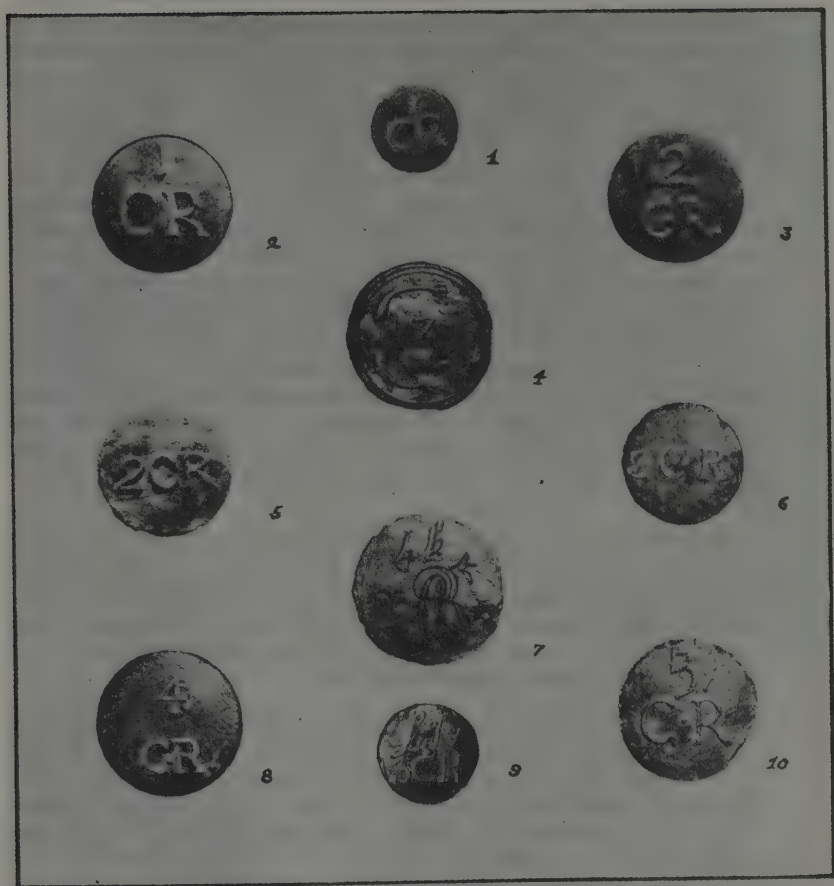


PLATE IV

Pewter buttons of the Connecticut Line. Specimen 1, of the 1st Connecticut Regiment, was cast in an original mold found at New Haven, Conn. The balance were discovered near West Point.

companies of light infantry from as many Connecticut Regiments, of which the 3rd was one, with two Massachusetts and one Rhode Island company, formed a battalion which, under Colonel Gimat and Major Wylls of the 3rd Connecticut, led the column that stormed one of the enemy's redoubts at Yorktown on the night of October 14, 1781. The adoption of distinctive buttons for a single company is unique. No other such instance has come to light in the American or, for that matter, the British armies of the Revolution.

From the three mountain camps discovered in Putnam County, on the east side of the Hudson River, as well as from West Point, were retrieved numbered buttons of a peculiar type (Plate V, 1-7). They have at their centers, on a flat face, the numerals "2," "5," etc., surrounded by a broken circle and dot, characteristic of both the British and French buttons of the period. Upon their backs, however, they have cylindrical shanks perforated at right angles, a feature of the French button of 1762, the year in which military buttons were first numbered. Since these universally were found in close proximity with regular Connecticut buttons and on the camp sites of Connecticut troops, we attribute these to the regiments of that state which the numerals represent. There can be little doubt that the buttons were of French fabrication and that they were originally intended for the army of that country.⁷

On Plate V are also shown some Pennsylvania state buttons. Specimens 8, 9, 10, and 13 were discovered at Fort Ticonderoga and specimen 11 was recovered from the ruins of Fort Washington, New York City. Special interest attaches to specimen 12, inscribed "PSR" for the Pennsylvania State Regiment.⁸ This corps was so designated when first raised, becoming the 13th Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line in 1777.

On Plate VI are shown specimens of uniform buttons which are extremely rare and, in some cases, are quite unique. Specimen 1 is the type of button worn by New York state troops, probably throughout most of the Revolution. Only a few samples have been found and the exact dates of its use cannot be ascertained. Specimen 2 is of the 1st Maryland Battalion.⁹ It was found among refuse from the old Century House — the Nagle residence at 212th Street, New York City, on the westerly bank of the Harlem River.

Specimen 3, marked in monogram "DR," was found at the British fort at Richmond, Staten Island. It is an officer's button and, quite certainly, of the Delaware Regiment.¹⁰ The following specimen, which shows a bounding stag, was discovered at Redoubt No. 4 at West Point. It is also an officer's button, probably of The Bucks of America, a colored corps raised in Massachusetts. Their flag, showing a similar design, is preserved in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.¹¹

Specimen 5 is of an unusual type in that it has a state designation shown in script. Just a few — three or four — of these buttons of the New Jersey

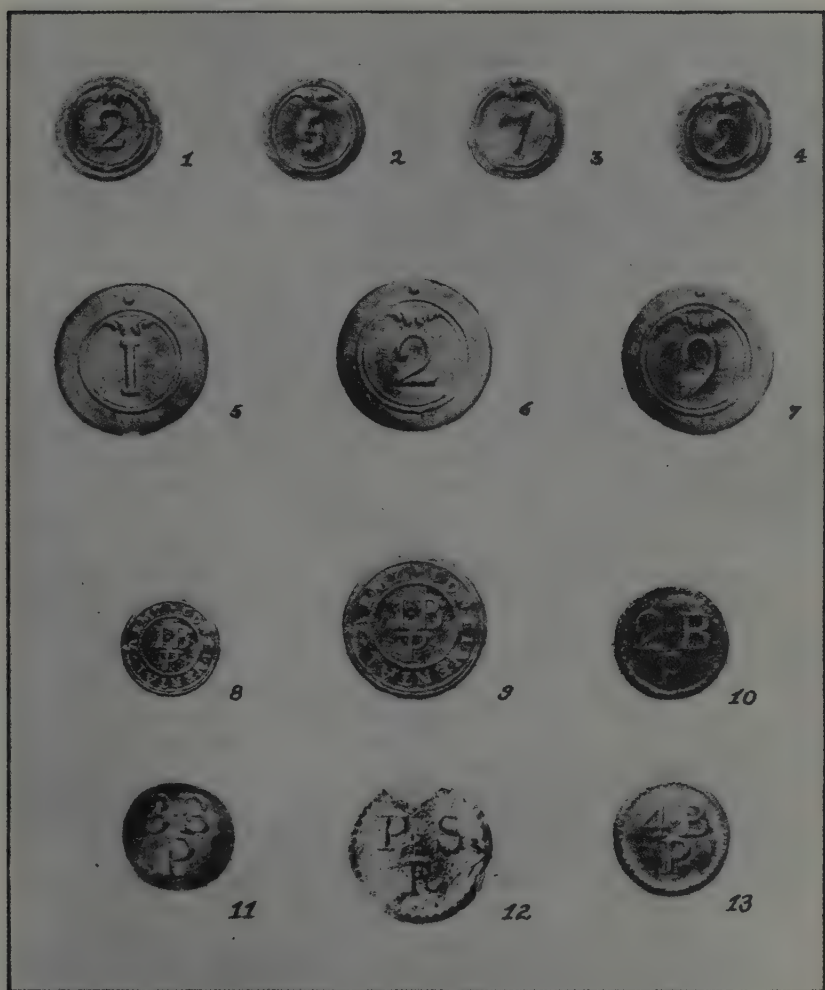


PLATE V

1-7. Pewter buttons of the French model of 1762 found near West Point and believed to have been used by regiments of the Connecticut Line. 8-13. Pewter buttons of Pennsylvania troops. Specimens 8, 9, 10, and 13 were found at Fort Ticonderoga; specimen 11 at Fort Washington; and specimen 12, of the Pennsylvania State Regiment, was unearthed near Philadelphia. The initial "B" is for "battalion," a term used synonymously with "regiment."

state troops have been found and all are from Ticonderoga. They bring to mind the perfidious conduct of the 1st Battalion, whose officers and men left Ticonderoga at a critical moment on the expiration of their terms of service in November, 1776. For this shameful behavior, the battalion was drummed out of camp by their more patriotic companions.¹² Specimen 6 is of a Massachusetts regiment raised in Boston early in the war. According to Mr. Samuel Adams Drake, this unit wore black uniforms faced with red and a button bearing the motto INIMICA TYRANNIS (hostile to tyrants) circling the design of a hand bearing a naked sword.¹³ The single example obtained of this button was recovered from a pit at Camp Robinson's Farm.

The "RIR" button (specimen 7) is of the Rhode Island Regiment. It was found at Cold Spring, in Putnam County, New York, on a camp site shown on Villafranche's map of 1780. There was, originally, a 1st and 2nd Regiment of Rhode Island, but they were consolidated and renamed in 1781. This combined regiment was at Yorktown and spent the following winter in barracks at Philadelphia. They removed to the Hudson Highlands in the summer of 1782. Another specimen of the "RIR" button was discovered among the ruins of the American blockhouse at Sneden's Landing, Palisades, New York, and still others have been exhumed from burials at Williamsburg, Virginia.

In strong contrast with the foregoing crude attempts at military button-making are some extremely well-made but mystifying specimens found on various American sites (Plate VI, 7-13). They all display a regal crown, but certainly not the crown of England or of any other great European country. Beneath these crowns, in which one finds slight variation in the attributes of royalty, are such initial letters as "CN," "RN," "FDM," etc. One example of this type of button, a perfect specimen marked "FDM," is now in the collection of Revolutionary material at Fraunces Tavern, New York City. Privates buttons with these same initials have been found at West Point and in the American camp at Morristown, N. J. Buttons marked "RRN" have been discovered at West Point and one such was unearthed with the remains of American soldiers killed by the British in the raid on Young's House, Westchester County, on the night of February 2, 1780. The other examples of this class of button were discovered on the hillside in front of the Revolutionary barracks at West Point.

Our sieves give up, of course, a great variety of material other than buttons. Many coins of small denomination have been found and these, we suspect, like the bone discs, did duty as buttons when covered with cloth. From the refuse pits and dumps has come a host of objects instructive in their own way — musket fittings, bullets, and gunflints, buckles of all kinds, military tools, and the like. Non-military material found includes iron nails, wrought in many sizes and shapes; *lead* pencils in their original form—devoid of wood sheathing; improvised table knives and forks; sleeve-link buttons with artistic or medalic designs; and innumerable fragments of glass

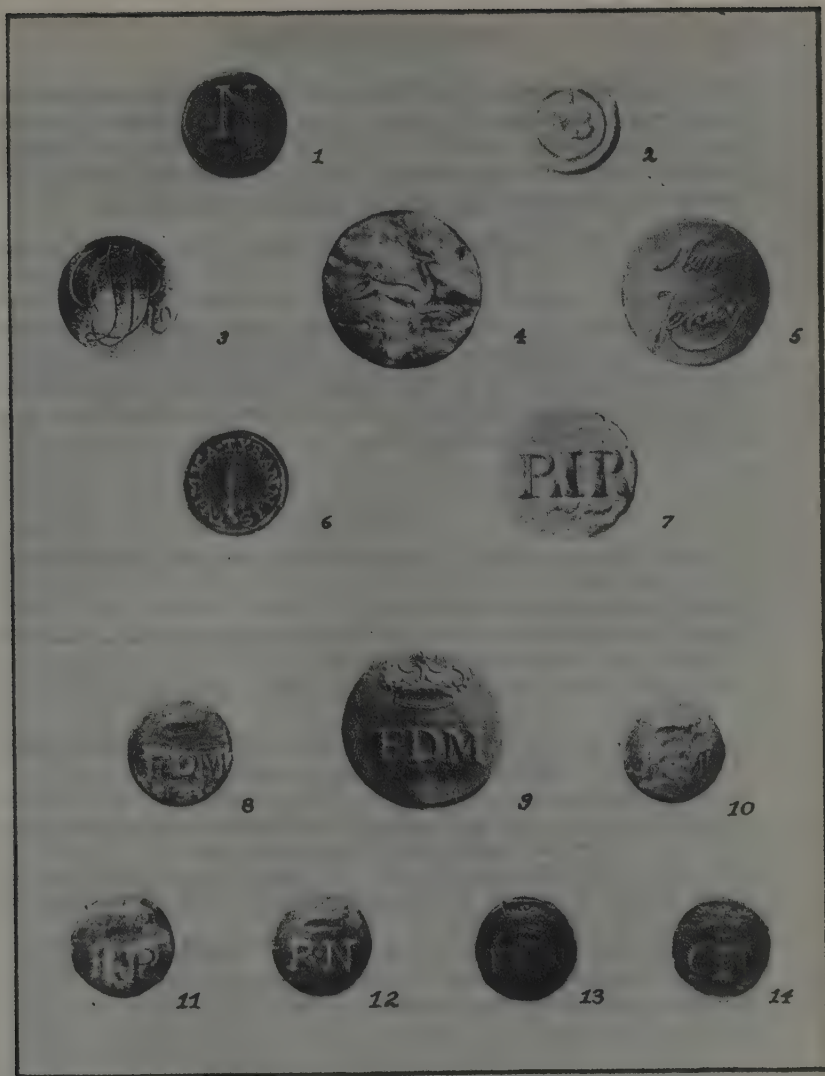


PLATE VI

1. New York state, pewter. 2. 1st Maryland Battalion, pewter. 3. Officer's button, The Delaware Regiment, bronze. 4. Officer's button, believed to be of the Bucks of America, copper, silver-plated. 5. New Jersey state, pewter. 6. Unidentified Massachusetts regiment, copper face with wood back. 7. The Rhode Island Regiment, pewter. 8-14. Buttons not as yet identified, but apparently worn by some American troops. Specimen 9 now in the collection at Fraunces Tavern, New York City; the balance found at West Point. A button similar to specimen 8 was found at Morristown, N. J., and one similar to 13 in Westchester County, N. Y.

and pottery vessels. Some of the objects are of most ingenious fabrication and many, considered indispensable in their day, are now of almost forgotten utility. All are valuable reminders of eighteenth century military and domestic life and, in view of their historical, military, or sentimental interest, the physical labor expended in their recovery has been well rewarded.

It might be well to explain the several references to refuse pits and dumps. These are revealed, or at least suggested, by a greener growth of grass or rankness of the weeds at old camp sites and fortifications. Too often, however, lush growths of poison ivy point to the garbage enriched soil whence come the objects of our quest. "Flare," a quality which all earnest explorers must possess, has much to do with locating good "leads." It can guide the real collector to his heart's desire more surely than any other factor. It is inexplicable but certainly indispensable.

Notes

1. Charles M. Lefferts, *Uniforms . . . in the War of the Amer. Rev.*, (deserter descriptions) pp. 75, 128.
2. Force, *American Archives*, 4th, III, 1613.
3. Lefferts, pp. 74, 78, 81, 100, 124. Of course, some of the numbered buttons mentioned probably came from captured British uniforms.
4. We know of its being worn in December, 1777. Lefferts, p. 101.
5. Lefferts, p. 85.
6. AGO, Conn., *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the . . . Revolution*, p. 352.
7. See Louis Fallou, *Le Bouton uniforme français*, pp. 74-75.
8. See also Lefferts, p. 125.
9. Lefferts, pp. 101-106. The terms "battalion" and "regiment," and hence the initials "B" and "R," were used indifferently for these Maryland units.
10. It is quite probable that this was Colonel John Haslet's Delaware Battalion, the best uniformed unit in the army of 1776, although Lefferts (pp. 26 and 98) states they wore buttons with "DB" on them.
11. Gherardi Davis, *Regimental Colors in the War of the Revolution*, pp. 19-20.
12. MS orderly book of Colonel John Trumbull, Fort Ticonderoga Museum.
13. *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*, p. 254.

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF A ROVING SOLDIER-DIPLOMAT

*General Winfield Scott's Reports to Secretary of State James Monroe,
on conditions in France and England in 1815-1816*

EDITED BY MAJOR CHARLES W. ELLIOTT

When the reorganization of the regular army was completed in the Spring of 1815, Brevet-Major-General Winfield Scott received official notification of the fact that he had been retained in active service as one of the four brigadier-generals on the reduced Army List. He immediately applied for leave of absence with permission to go abroad as an unofficial observer of military events on the Continent. Napoleon had just returned from Elba; the Allies were gathering immense armies to overwhelm him, and a tremendous campaign seemed imminent. Scott was eager to witness the operations in prospect, to improve himself professionally, and to recover fully from the effects of a terrible wound received at the battle of Lundy's Lane in July, 1814. In June the leave requested was granted, the Acting Secretary of War, Alexander J. Dallas, giving him strict instructions not only to avoid actual service with European troops, but even to "avoid the appearance of it." To Mr. Dallas he wrote (on June 13th):

It makes no part of the plan I have proposed to myself, to take an active part in the renewed hostilities of Europe. To avoid notice or animadversion, I have been particular, on every occasion, in expressing my views on this head. Indeed, if my determination was otherwise, I should apprehend the difficulty of finding employment on that theater would be greater than my disinclination to serve. But it will be a primary object with me, to take the nearest view that a *spectator* may, of the conflicting movements of two *extensive* armies. Our late war afforded no such spectacle; and I feel persuaded, that without enjoying that advantage, no man can pretend to be a *general*. He may lead a single column very well, but will never be able to combine the movements of many columns on a given object, until he has seen it accomplished in the face of an enemy. There are many other advantages which a military traveller may reasonably promise himself in tour thro' the continent of Europe (whether in a state of peace or war) and I trust I shall profit by the liberality of my government.

To a mere spectator, it may seem indifferent whether he arranges himself on the side of the one belligerent or the other; but I confess my predilection for France will induce me, other things being equal, to place myself behind an army of that nation. Both Mr. Monroe and Mr. Serrurier¹ were good enough to promise me letters to some of the Marshals of France; and I shall write to remind them of their promise. I have also the promise of letters, thro' which an introduction may be had, to the Duke of Wellington, should chance, or inclination, throw me in his neighborhood.

I know not whether it will be expected of me, whilst abroad, to do more than report myself, occasionally, to the War Department. The U. States have, at the different courts

1. Jean Matthieu Philibert Serurier, who since February, 1811, had been French Minister to the United States.

of Europe, their proper agents, whose duty it is to communicate everything which may be deemed interesting to their country. My pursuits and means of obtaining intelligence, will be more humble. Nevertheless, I shall, with much pleasure, in an unofficial way, add to my individual report, such facts and observations as may appear to me, likely to interest the department whose orders I obey.

To his friend James Monroe, Secretary of State, he wrote a week later :

Mr. Dallas has been good enough to send me the permission to go abroad which was promised me when in Washington. . . . I shall endeavor to take an interior view of some of the principal armies, when not in a state of active operations, which I suppose will not be objectionable. . . . During my absence it is probable I may occasionally take the liberty of troubling you with my remarks on the passing scenes which may fall under my observation. Your past kindness to me, will invite, & I hope, justify, the freedom.

Having thus discreetly appointed himself an unofficial observer at the front, he proceeded to Europe. Arriving in England he learned that the battle of Waterloo had been fought and that Napoleon was a prisoner. He went at once to France where he found Paris occupied by the Allied troops. After a month in the French capital he despatched the first of his reports to Secretary Monroe.

Paris, Sep. 28th, 1815

My dear Sir,

I am very much indebted to you for your friendly letter addressed to me at New York and which was received in London.

Since my arrival in Europe I have been so much engrossed by recent & passing events, that I have not had leisure, or have not been willing to trust my reflections to paper. France is prostrate & England universally dominant on this side the Atlantic. These events may have given rise to new rejoicings among certain of our countrymen, & they *may* be followed by conflagrations on our coast, more terrible than that at Washington. It is certainly the general expectation on all the continent, that we shall soon have another war with England, and I do not see but that her King has about as good a claim to his ancient colonies, as Louis had to France, from which he was separated nearly as many years as we have been independent. Time & treaties do not bar the indefesible [*sic*] rights of kings, and our repugnance to such a relapse would not be taken into consideration. The French are equally opposed to the government which has been forced upon them, by all Europe in arms, and some of the allied sovereigns would not be unwilling to hire out their vassals to put down the only remaining usurpation—the usurpation of an entire people who dared to shake off the paternal government of a monarch, now the oldest, & according to the insane language of the times, the most venerable upon Earth.²

Nothing can be more complete than the ruin and degradation of France. It is not yet known how many thousand millions she has to pay to her conquerors for the trouble of conquering her, but it seen on every side that the country is already exhausted by the *nations* which have been marched hither to glut & fatten on her soil. Louis does not reign for the French, but to render *legitimate* the outrages daily committed in his name by the allies, and which might be successfully resisted, but for that sanction. If he remonstrates with them, they threaten to leave him to the mercy of an exasperated people, and the mean ambition of reigning induces him to submit to the degradation of himself & his

2. George III was then seventy-seven years old and had been insane since 1811.

country. Paris has a Prussian Governor. A Prussian battery, with lighted matches, is placed on the *pont des Tuilleries*, (opposite to the palace) as well to protect the King against the indignation of his own people, as to secure his compliance to the will of the allies. The treaty is negotiated within the range of those guns.—A Frenchman is the only European who is without protection in Paris, or indeed without a home in France, unless it be in Cherbourg & a few other places which yet hold out against the allies. Almost every town & village has a garrison.

About two weeks since, a French officer, on one of the Boulevards, was trodden upon several times by an Englishman (a Mr. Kean). On demanding an explanation the insult was repeated, when the Frenchman, knowing that he had no other redress, struck him to the heart. This officer is now hunted in every direction by the police of Louis, & the Prussian Governor has levied a heavy fine upon the inhabitants adjoining the Boulevard. A Paris paper announced this affair, & stated the provocation received, but on an intimation made by Lord Wellington, thro' the late Minister of Police, all the journals branded the Frenchman as a coward & an assassin!

Certain British officers who served under the late Gen'l. Ross³, dined together in Paris, to celebrate "the anniversary of the capture of the capital of the U. States." An account of the dinner has just been published in the Parisian journals, with many compliments to British valor, so triumphantly exhibited on that occasion! These anecdotes will serve to show that the Press here is also under British and Prussian governors.

I have just heard of the death of Gen'l. Jackson⁴, an event that will make it proper that I should return home much sooner than I had intended. It is also rumored that not only East, but *West* Florida has been ceded to England. The London Chronicle, which deprecates the measure, seems to be ignorant that what he calls West Florida, now makes a part of the State of Louisiana. I shall look clearly to this question and regulate my return according to the intelligence I may receive. Any how, I hope by the ensuing spring, to have accomplished the objects I had in view in coming to Europe, when I shall embark without waiting for orders.

The reviews of the allied troops in the neighborhood of this capital have occupied much of my attention; and I owe it to the Russian Lieut. Gen'l Count Woronzow⁵ that I have been able to look at them under circumstances the most favorable. This young man (the son of the veteran minister of that name) professes himself to be a warm admirer of the U. States, with whose government & history he is well acquainted; & tells me that Alexander has the same sentiments; but of this I am incredulous. His present conduct towards France shows his indifference to the Freedom & independence of nations. It is, however, said, that he is about to withdraw from the coalition, & it is certain that his troops are passing out of France.

I frequently see our countryman, & your old friend, Gen'l. La Fayette. He retains his old principles & attachments to his adopted country, but is inefficient as a public man. On the late abdication of Bonaparte, he might have rendered himself the first man of France—perhaps have saved her liberties; but like some of our countrymen, at home, he

3. Major General Robert Ross, who commanded the British at Bladensburg and was killed in action before Baltimore September 12, 1814.

4. The origin of this egregious rumor is obscure. Jackson was seriously ill most of the summer of 1815, but in the fall went to Washington to confer with the President and Secretary of War anent the defense of the Southern Department, which he commanded.

5. Lieut. Gen. Mikhail Semenovitch Vorontsov (1782-1856), commander of the Russian Army of Occupation in France from 1815 to 1818. He was educated in England where his father was the Russian Ambassador from 1785 to 1806.

entertained too high an opinion of the *magnanimity* of the allied sovereigns. Mr. Robertson⁶, who was present, can give you some interesting details respecting that revolution.

It is certain that Fouché⁷, on his dismissal the other day was offered the place of Minister to our government, from which circumstance there can be no doubt but that Mr. Serrurier will be discontinued.

The fine halls & galleries of the Louvre are stripped of the wonders which they contained. England comes in for the larger share of the plunder, & among others, has taken to herself, the Venus & Apollo.⁸ The works of the French artists, & the collections made by Louis the 14th, are also considered as lawful plunder. Louis feebly remonstrated, & reminded his brother Kings, that the war was declared against a single individual, who is now on the other side of the equinox, but is reminded, that he owes his crown to their exertions. Vandalism is universally triumphant. The King is employing himself in throwing down & defacing every thing which can recal [*sic*] the image of Bonaparte or the glory of France. The palaces & the triumphal arch in the *place de carousal*, are already despoiled; the statue of Bonaparte taken down from the triumphal pillar in the *place Vendome*, & the column itself is next to "slope its head to its foundations."

If I am not hurried in my departure for the U. S. by the prospect of a rupture with England, I shall probably make a short visit to London, when I propose to deliver the letter you were good enough to forward for Lord Holland. My stay in that country, on my way hither, was too short to permit me to make acquaintances. L. H. was, at the time I was in London, at some distant watering-place.

I remain, my dear sir, with greatest respect & consideration, Your most Ob. Serv't.

W. SCOTT

The hon'ble

J. Monroe,
&c &c &c

Private

Paris, Nov. 18th, 1815

My dear Sir,

I had the honor of addressing a letter to you by my friend Mr. Robertson who left Paris some six weeks since on his return to the U. States and who will be better able to give you an account of the wonderful *developments* of the few preceding months, than, perhaps, any other American then in Europe.

France is at present in that precise condition which was foreseen by every friend of her independence. The allies continue to exhaust & degrade her in the name of the King, who, in return holds his throne by the number of their bayonets. The neighboring powers aggrandize themselves in territory at the expense of their military rival; the English guard against the revival of French manufactures and a French marine—all are paid and indemnified by this country, and the wretched Louis is happy to find in the misery of his

6. Hon. Thomas B. Robertson, a Member of Congress from Louisiana, then traveling in Europe.

7. In spite of his treachery to Napoleon, Fouché was unable to conciliate the royalists and was forced to resign his ministry. He went as Ambassador, not to the United States, but to Dresden, Saxony.

8. Not, of course, the Venus of Melos, which was not discovered until 1820.

people the best guarantee of his dynasty, for he well knows that whilst there shall exist in France a sentiment of independence or one spark of military pride, his name and family will be spurned & detested.

The officers who served in the late short campaign are excluded from the army and are not even permitted to reside in Paris. Many thousands have lately been ordered away. One of them, a general, who had neglected to obey the mandate, was arrested and brought before the Police. Where am I to go? said he. I have no particular place of abode. For twenty years a bivouac has been my home, and I am now come to capital of my country to seek a shelter. It is true that I have not fought for the Bourbons, but I have fought for the glory and the independence of France, and bear about me the records of my services. He was told that the order was irrevocable—and so is my determination, said the veteran, as he plunged a dagger into his heart. Similar instances of desperation have not been unfrequent of late, but the French papers dare not even announce them. Indeed, nothing can be more abject than the present state of the French Press. The journal I take has been three times suppressed within the last two months. It is required that every political article shall be submitted to the Censor before publication, and of course he sanctions nothing that tends in the remotest degree to reflect on the conduct of the court or the allies. A neglect of this precaution is fatal to the Editor. The journal in question has been renewed under different titles. It was at first called *The Independent Courier* but the Editor knowing me to [be] a citizen of a country in which the press is free in fact as well as in name, was in the habit of running his pen through the word "Independent" in the particular papers sent to my address. The following is the paragraph which caused its last suppression and which I give in order that you may perceive what are the ruling fears of the court.

"Nous apprenons (from Vienna, Oct. 11th) que S.M. l'empereur a accordé au jeune Napoleon le regiment d'hulans qui est vacant par la mort Comte de Meerfeldt. Dimanche passé le jeune prince parut, pour la premiere fois, avec l'uniforme de major de ce regiment, accompagné de S.M. l'empereur d'autriche. On remarque que ce prince est toujours appelé Francois-Charles dans les ordonnances de la cour qui ont rapport a lui."

The struggle of the So. Americans for independence excites a high degree of interest in Europe, and the general expectation is, that the U. S. will openly declare for them. Indeed, it is supposed that the contest will be between us & England to see which shall first extend to them the required assistance. Commercial cupidity is the only aim of the British, but proximity, political principle, every thing seems to point out the course we should adopt. I trust in God that Congress may make the declaration. We have nothing to apprehend from the infamous Ferdinand,⁹ and every thing to hope from our continental brethren. The Baron Humboldt¹¹ thinks with me on this subject, and the feelings [of] our most venerable countryman, General La Fayette, are the same which crowned him with glory and us with independence thirty five years ago.

A declaration in behalf of the patriots would not necessarily involve us in a war with Ferdinand, or if it should the war would be merely nominal so far as it respects the injuries *we* should suffer. Spain has no naval force, or but a very small number of indifferent ships, more indifferently manned. We might easily exclude her from our America, & even from the Atlantic ocean; and I see no prospect of having our claims upon the

9. Despite obvious errors, the text is here given exactly as written by Scott.

10. Ferdinand VII, restored to the Spanish throne in March, 1814.

11. Baron Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt, the celebrated Prussian scientist and author, then living in Paris.

Spanish government discharged except by the occupation of East Florida. Our peace establishment would be adequate to this object. But a certain class of our citizens, would no doubt first like to enquire, What would be the probable conduct of England if we should oppose ourselves to the holy march Ferdinand is now making on two continents at once, toward the destruction of every feeling & principle most dear to mankind?—I have taken some pains to ascertain the temper of Englishmen on this question and am decidedly of the opinion that no ministry could sustain itself in that country, six months after making common cause with Ferdinand against the American patriots.

The Council of War assembled for the trial of Marshal Ney decided a few days since against its competency. He is now before the Chamber of Peers and will no doubt be condemned, for the Duke of Richelieu, has in an official speech told the chambers that nothing less will satisfy his majesty, or his allies. All the ministers & generals of the allies attend the trial, to overawe the accused, & the better to ensure his conviction. To witness the execution, tickets for places are already granted.¹²

You no doubt will have seen the new law against seditions, cries, &c. Its publication has excited a strong sensation among the people, but supported as it is, by 150,000 foreign bayonets, the French are obliged to yield. Yesterday six or seven young men put seals upon their lips & in this situation, supposing themselves safe from sedition & the Police, walked arm in arm thro' the garden of the Tuilleries. But the significant conceit did not escape notice. They have been committed for transportation.

Marshal Ney has taken a new ground in his defense before the Peers, and demands the protection of the allies on the faith of the late capitulation of Paris. His two several notes to the foreign ministers have been transmitted to London for the opinion of the British cabinet and if there be faith or honour remaining in Europe he is safe. The 12th article of that convention embraces his case in the strongest terms and according to which the execution of Labedoyere¹³ was a most barbarous murder. Major Mercer¹⁴ is endeavoring to procure the notes & if he succeeds they will be enclosed.

The Americans in Paris experience many inconveniences from the want of a minister here. Mr. Jackson is extremely civil to us all & does every thing in his power to serve us, but I believe he has not been acknowledged by the present government. The expectation is, that Mr. Dallas will be substituted in the place of Mr. Gallatin.¹⁵ May I take the liberty of suggesting, that if it should be agreeable to the government & the particular gentleman appointed to this court, that Major Mercer would be very happy to receive the

12. Ney was executed on December 7, 1815, after being convicted of treason by the Chamber of Peers, only one vote being cast for his acquittal. Scott is mistaken in assuming that Louis XVIII desired the execution, but the ultra-royalists forced the King to acquiesce.
13. General Charles-Angélique-Francois La Bédoyère, Comte d'Huchet, condemned by a council of war for having surrendered Grenoble to Napoleon on the return from Elba.
14. John Mercer of Baltimore, a young gentleman who persuaded Scott to accept his services as volunteer aide during the trip. The General tried to get him a commission as Second Lieutenant in the regular army before they sailed, but without success. The title "Major" was probably earned in the Maryland militia.
15. William H. Crawford, the American Minister, had gone home to become Secretary of War, leaving the legation in charge of Henry Jackson, the Secretary. Albert Gallatin came over in 1816 as Minister. Mercer was not appointed Secretary as he hoped, and went home with Scott.

appointment of Secretary of Legation? He is already well acquainted with the language of the country and wishes to spend some years in this capital; and I may add, that there is no American in Paris whose manners & principles do greater honour to our country. He does not expect to be substituted in the place of any gentleman already in the view of the government, & much less to be thought of in opposition to Mr. Jackson, who has laid him under many obligations of civility.

Mrs Pattison arrived here a few days since and begins to be the subject of no little curiosity.¹⁶

I still adhere to the resolution of returning to my duty early next spring, by which period I hope I shall have accomplished the objects I had in view in coming to Europe, & when I shall be very well content to remain at home, for the remainder of my life—unless I should be required to march out at the head of an army. Indeed, it is in Europe, that a citizen of the U. S. learns, by comparison, to place the highest value on his own country & government. I have not met with an American abroad who was not proud of the name, and who did not concur in the general policy we have pursued in our foreign relations. The soundness of that policy no longer admits of dispute.

I must not omit to mention, that the Baron Humboldt, who takes a lively interest in our affairs, intimated in the course of a conversation the other day, that certain letters of his to some members of our government, had remained a long time unanswered. His influence in the moral & literary world is greater than that of any other man in Europe. France owes to him the preservation of *the garden of plants*, (in which the Prussian army was, at one time, about to bivouac) and the few objects of the arts which remain to her, out of the general wreck of the Louvre.

I must again apologize for this trespass on your time, & assure you of the continued respect & esteem, in which

I have the honour to remain,
Yr. most obedient servant,
W. SCOTT

The Hon'ble
J. Monroe,
&c &c &c

In February the General and his aide crossed the Channel to England. They remained in London about three weeks, making short excursions into the country, including a visit to Bath. Shortly before sailing for home Scott wrote again to Monroe.

Liverpool, Mar. 19th 1816

Dear Sir,

I came over to this country a few weeks since in the intention of returning to France & embarking thence in April for the U. S., but at London the news reached me that we were likely to engage in hostilities with Spain and I have accordingly hastened hither to embark direct for home. Unfortunately for me, the ships which are expected to sail in 8 or 10 days have dropped down the river to go out tomorrow, and my baggage has not arrived.

16. Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore, the divorced wife of Jérôme Bonaparte. She had been living in England.

Even before the correspondence between you and Don Onís¹⁷ reached Europe, it was generally expected that we would interpose in behalf of the Spanish American patriots; and I am delighted to find, in the correspondence, that the folly of Ferdinand, which can only be equalled by his bigotry, is likely to provoke an immediate and open declaration against him. In the event of such contest, this country cannot but remain neutral. Her navy is reduced to a mere peace establishment; and altho a considerable land force is to be kept up, yet the distribution of it, according to the explanation of ministers, shows, that no surplus will be left for the use of Ferdinand. The best friends of freedom in this country and on the continent, regard the present moment as peculiarly favorable to the independence of our hemisphere. The acknowledged odium of Ferdinand's administration—the distress of the commercial and agricultural interests of Great Britain, and above all, her present financial embarrassments render it quite impossible that Lord Castlereigh & his colleagues should make common cause in the demands that the Spaniard has made of our government. The universal sentiment expressed by the British people on the defeat & execution of the gallant Porlier¹⁸ may again be referred to; and on a late occasion I heard in Parliament the loud cheers with which Mr. Brougham¹⁹ was greeted, even by the treasury benches, whilst expressing the bitterest detestation of the Spanish monarch. It is true that Lord Castlereigh defeated the motion of Mr. B. on the grounds of inexpediency and officially said something in mitigation of the conduct of his brother Knight of the garter nevertheless the indignant eloquence of the mover was universally cheered both in and out of Parliament.

From this view of the subject it seems quite impossible that England should become a party to a war growing out of the issue that you have joined with the Spanish minister; and if the contest is to be single handed against us, the odds are entirely on our side. Indeed I suppose that our navy alone would be fully adequate to ensure the independence of Spanish America and to indemnify us in our just demands against the mother country.

I had a few days since, at the house of Lord —, to whom you were good enough to give me a letter—an interview with the Spanish general Mina²¹, whose object was to learn of me whether an armed ship, he has now nearly ready, to take himself & some 40 other Spanish officers, to America, to join the patriots, would be permitted to touch at one of our ports, & to depart unmolested. I replied by showing him your letter to Don Onís, & added, that I had no doubt, but that *in the event of our being at war*, he would be able to purchase in our ports, the arms, &c which he requires to complete his equipment. It seems that he has already found the means of shipping some 2,000 stand of arms, & now only waits the collection of his associates, some of whom are on the continent. His ship is in this port, & he is not a little apprehensive of discovery & detention.

17. Don Luis de Onís, the Spanish Minister to the United States. The correspondence referred to is found in *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, IV, 422-431.
18. Juan Diaz Porlier (1775-1815), the celebrated Spanish patriot-guerrilla chieftain, hanged by Ferdinand VII at Coruña.
19. Henry Peter Brougham, 1st Baron Brougham and Vaux (1778-1868). He had just been returned to Parliament after being out since 1812 and had immediately attempted to assume the leadership of the liberal Whig party.
20. This was Lord Holland (Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3d Baron Holland). An influential Whig politician, his house was a headquarters for liberals and continental exiles from France and Spain. Both Lord and Lady Holland seem to have been much taken with Scott and he spent a good part of his English visit at their home.
21. This was Xavier Mina, a nephew of the more famous guerrillero Francisco Espoz y Mina. He got safely away from London with his ship, touched at Baltimore and went on to Mexico where he joined the insurgents. He was shortly afterwards captured by the Spaniards and executed.

At the interview Lord — was not present. I was invited to meet the General by the secretary of the former, and under many precautions of secrecy, for the General is not known to be in London. His associates have been banished by Ferdinand at different times, either as *liberales* or the adherents of Porlier. Gen'l. M. was the second in command to the latter, & fled to save his life. These gentlemen will constitute an important acquisition to the patriots, particularly Gen'l. M. who was the author of the guirella [*sic*] system in the peninsula war.

This letter will go by the ship *Belvedera*. I expect to sail myself in the *Franklin*, also bound to Baltimore & hope soon to have the honour of making my respects to you in person.

With every sentiment of respect & esteem,

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yr most Ob. serv't.

W. SCOTT

The Hon'b'l

J. Monroe,

&c &c &c

Scott returned to the United States in May, on the ship *Franklin*, landing at Baltimore. Having lost money by the unfavorable state of exchange, he put in a claim for reimbursement. The following letter from Secretary Monroe closed their correspondence.

Washington, June 13, 1816

Dear Sir:

It is decided to settle your claim on the Government on the principle established by the Department of War, before your departure for Europe, in such manner that you may sustain no loss by depreciation of paper or unfavorable exchange.

Your communications while abroad were very interesting. The opportunities which you had of deriving information from military men of high rank²² especially in the Prussian Army,²³ of the views of the several powers at a crisis the most important and extraordinary that has occurred in modern times, were peculiarly favorable; and it gives me pleasure to state, that the *zeal* and *judgment* with which you improved them for the advantage of your country, gave great satisfaction.

I am, with great respect and esteem, very sincerely yours,

JAMES MONROE

Major General Scott.

22. Among others, Scott had conferred with Marshal Oudinot, Marshal Macdonald, Generals Carnot and Dupont, and, in correspondence, with Kosciuszko.

23. "Russian" is evidently meant, as Scott had been intimate with General Vorontsov (whom he calls "Woronzow" in his memoirs) but had apparently avoided any contact with the Prussians.

Editor's Note: The letter to Dallas is in the War Department files. Those to Monroe are in the State Department archives and the text of the letter of appreciation from Monroe is from the *Ohio State Journal*, Sept. 21, 1852.

COLONEL CHARLES EDWARD TERRY LULL: FATHER OF THE FOUNDATION

BY ALFRED HASBROUCK

Although there were fifteen others present at the first meeting of the founders of the American Military History Foundation on June 9, 1933, the one at whose call and suggestion they had assembled was Lt. Col. (later Colonel) Charles Edward Terry Lull. It was to Colonel Lull that the inception of the Foundation was due; through his efforts and inspiration that the others had become interested; by his care and attention that the Foundation was launched; and through his energy and perseverance that its early membership increased and its projects began to mature.* While not at first accepting office, he was, at the meeting of the Board of Trustees on September 21, 1933, elected Secretary-Treasurer to take the place of the first secretary, Major R. B. Patterson and the first treasurer, Lt. Col. Charles H. Patterson, both of whom had tendered their resignations. By the efficient and zealous performance of the duties of that double office, Colonel Lull was largely responsible for the steady progress of the Foundation until his death on November 12, 1934. According to Lt. Col. Clarence C. Benson, his chief assistant in the Historical Section and one of the incorporators of the Foundation, Colonel Lull was "throughout the preliminary stages, the mainspring of the project. . . . If the resulting structure is sound and well planned, as I believe it is, we are indebted to the nicely balanced judgments of his penetrating mind. . . . Without him, the American Military History Foundation would never have come into existence." Colonel Lull may justly be called "the Father of the Foundation."

Descended from the rugged ancestry of Vermont pioneers, Colonel Lull owed much to his parents. His father, Edward P. Lull, late Captain, U.S.N., in the course of a distinguished naval career was executive officer of the Naval Academy, took part in the battle of Mobile Bay, and commanded the engineering parties which in 1872 and 1875 surveyed the proposed routes for an isthmian canal through Nicaragua and Panama. His mother, Emma Terry, was also from a well-known New England family, one of the members of which, Daniel Wadsworth, was the donor of the Wadsworth Atheneum and Morgan Memorial at Hartford, Connecticut. From her Colonel Lull inherited a kindly disposition and his love for music, and from his father, keenness of intellect.

*Among those to whom Colonel Lull was indebted for advice and assistance in planning and incorporating the Foundation were Major General George S. Simonds, then Commandant of the Army War College; Captain Dudley W. Knox, U.S.N., Retired, in charge of naval historical work in Washington; Colonel Arthur L. Conger, our present President; Dr. Thomas P. Martin, of the Library of Congress; Dr. James Brown Scott, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Dr. Allen R. Boyd, of the Library of Congress, our Vice-President; Lieutenant Colonel Clarence C. Benson, and the other incorporators.

Charles Edward Terry Lull was born at Washington, D. C., on January 15, 1880, but spent most of his childhood and received his early education in France, where he acquired almost native fluency in the use of the language of that country. Returning to the United States, he graduated at Lehigh University in 1900 as a B.S. in metallurgy and the following year gained his M.A. degree at Columbia University. After graduation and while employed as a draughtsman in the firm of John A. Roebling Son's Company, the young man began his military career by enlisting in Company A of the Second Regiment of National Guard of New Jersey, where he soon was wearing the chevrons of a corporal.

His next promotion, a big jump, came promptly, for through the influence of Admiral Dewey, who as an ensign had served under Captain Edward P. Lull, Charles Edward Terry Lull received his commission as a second lieutenant of infantry in the regular army on October 28, 1902. In 1903 he transferred to the Artillery Corps. As an officer of Coast Artillery he was regularly promoted through the various grades until he reached that of major on July 1, 1920. Having transferred to the Chemical Warfare Service in 1923, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1926 and to colonel on October 1, 1934.

On February 7, 1905, at San Diego, California, he married Fredreka Elizabeth Earle, of a distinguished California family. Their son, Edward Earle Lull graduated from the U. S. Naval Academy in 1928, and after a short service in the navy, resigned to become an engineering specialist for the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

Not only was Colonel Lull efficient, thorough, and conscientious in the performance of his routine military duties, but he was at all times an outstanding student of military science. In the numerous army schools which he attended during the course of his service, he attained high rank and reputation for scholarship. In 1910 he was an honor graduate of the Coast Artillery School and in the following year a leader in the advanced class. In 1923 he graduated from the Chemical Warfare Service School, in 1928 from the Army War College, and in 1929 from the Command and General Staff College. In 1921 he added luster to the American army by graduating with the highest honors from the Ecole Supérieure de Guerre of France.

During the World War he served on the General Staff and as acting chief-of-staff of the 86th Division A.E.F. in France. For his efficiency record the commander of that division, Major General Charles H. Martin, wrote: "In the organization and training of that [86th] Division at Camp Grant, Illinois and in France his [Colonel Lull's] services were of the highest order. He is an officer of unusual 'tactical sense,' at all times he was intelligent, industrious and loyal in the performance of his duties. He belongs to the highest type of officer in the Army."

One reason for Colonel Lull's high standing and for his preeminence in the performance of his military duties was that he never spared himself. When other officers had completed their duties for the day and were enjoying relaxation, he was accustomed to open his books and resume his studies. He seldom rested, but utilized his spare quarter hours between official duties for study and self-improvement. His keen intellect was always at work sharpening itself on some difficult problem.

His bravery and lack of thought for himself is attested by the War Department citation: "For heroic conduct displayed immediately following an explosion at No. 1 Emplacement, Battery DeRussy, Ft. Monroe, Va., July 21, 1910. Lieutenant Lull showed commendable presence of mind and judgment in removing powder charges from the midst of scattered burning grains of powder, thereby risking his own life and preventing further possible disaster, and also in directing aid to the injured under the most distressing circumstances."

While on duty as Chief of the Historical Section of the Army War College, Colonel Lull became convinced of the existence of much widely scattered source material for American military history, which was in danger of becoming permanently lost unless hunted out and recorded. Acting on this realization Colonel Lull devoted much thought to the solution of the problem and, feeling the need of the cooperation of historians and others interested, conceived the organization of the American Military History Foundation. Believing that the location and registration of data was one of the primary functions of a learned society, he advocated as one of the important activities of the association, the preparation of a Directory of Original Sources, to be known as Project No. 1. He wished our foundation to be used and respected by historians as an efficient collecting agency and a center of information about historical sources.

Although primarily technical, his own writings evidenced his historical outlook. Among them may be mentioned an early article called "A Ship Study of H.M.S. Indomitable" published in the *Journal of the United States Artillery*,* which so impressed the editor of *The Royal Engineers Journal* that he asked permission to reprint the article or to reproduce part of it in that well-known English military periodical. In *Army Ordnance* was published his "The War of To-morrow,"† and in the *Military Surgeon*, "The First Gas Attack at Ypres,"‡ the latter bringing him the reputation in France as an outstanding authority on chemical warfare.

As already mentioned, Colonel Lull, having such a high conception of his duty and such ideals of self-improvement, never spared himself. Duty first was his principle. As a result of overwork during the last months of his life he so exhausted his physical reserves that none were left for recovery from an

* January-February, 1910.

† September-October, 1934.

‡ May, 1931.

operation, and he died at Walter Reed General Hospital on November 12, 1934. Five major generals of the United States Army, as honorary pall bearers, walked beside his casket as it was borne for burial to a beautiful hillside in Arlington National Cemetery.

In complying with Colonel Lull's last expressed wishes, his widow has given his historical and research library to the American Military History Foundation, asking that it be made a memorial to his work. This valuable collection of several hundred volumes comprises numerous important biographies, many French and German books on the World War, naval records of the Civil War, the set of *Official Records, War of the Rebellion* formerly belonging to General Townsend, Adjutant General during the Civil War, containing marginal notations made in pencil by the original owner, and other works useful for reference by workers in our military history. This valuable asset of our Foundation is designated as The Lull Memorial Library.

ON AMERICAN POLEARMS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

BY BASHFORD DEAN

(Reprinted, by kind permission, from Metropolitan Museum Studies, Volume I, Part I.
Continued from Volume I, page 121.)

SPONTOONS

The American spontoon (espontoon, sponton, demi-pique, half-pike), which was in part the derivative of the halberd, may be readily studied; spontoons are referred to in numerous documents, and actual specimens occur in many local museums. In fact, they are too common and too simple to inspire interest.

From early literature it appears that the spontoon was carried in actual service "during the first years of the Revolutionary War, but not later." In a letter to the writer from John Ward Dunsmore, who has given much attention to early American arms, a memorandum is cited in the *Handbook of Valley Forge*—that owing to the scarcity of side arms "officers not having swords should cease carrying guns, which tend to distract their attention from their men and obtain half pikes." These pikes or espontoons, called spontoons, were to be "six and one-half feet in length, one and one-half inches thick in the largest part, the iron part to be one foot long." One of these is in the Dunsmore Collection; five in the arsenal at Trenton. From Herbert N. Hixon of West Medway, Massachusetts, an original document was received regarding the use of spontoons by the Medway Militia Company in 1838 and their value in that year.¹⁸

A few characteristic forms are, in brief:

Figure 28. Spontoon with shaft about seven feet long, 1730-1760, French (?), found in 1926 (?) when digging in the lock of the canal at Fort Edwards,

New York. This find, now in the possession of A. R. Wing of that place, was recently brought to the writer's attention by his friend, George A. Douglass. The blade is slightly keeled, base discoidal and incised with lilies of the valley (?); the socket is long, filed baluster fashion near the blade, and attached to the shaft by long straps, longer than blade and socket together, quite early in character.

Figure 29. "Sponton Louis XV," a badly rusted specimen dug up and preserved in Fort Ticonderoga (Pell Collection). It dates not later than the middle of the eighteenth century; it has the typical sharp keel passing along the face of the blade, also annular ornaments on the conical zone where head and shaft join. Straps occur on the sides, instead of on the front and back of the shaft. This form was early used as a standard shaft.

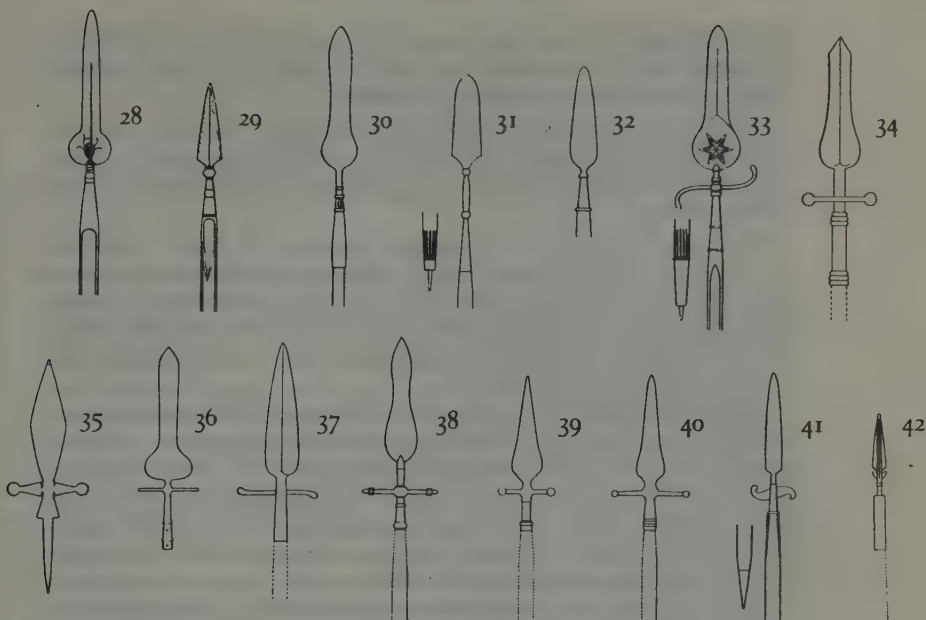
Figure 30. Spontoon, 1770-1790, secured by George A. Plimpton in Wrentham, Massachusetts, and by him lent to The Metropolitan Museum of Art. It can hardly be earlier than the date assigned, for it lacks straps; and, capping a long socket, its blade is demountable—features which are distinctly modern. The blade is wide, spatulate at the base.

Figure 31. Spontoon of similar date, exhibited in the museum in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Its blade is tapering, slightly concave at its base, its shank bearing two globular ornaments. The "ferrule" by which the spontoon was fastened to its shaft is too frail to suggest a date early enough for the arm to have been used in actual service. The base of the shaft, as shown in this figure, was strengthened with a ferrule and slightly ornamented. According to the records of the Deerfield Museum, it was carried by Ensign Lucius Graves (of the Revolution?); it is an heirloom in the family of Charles R. Graves of Whately, Massachusetts.

Figure 32. Revolutionary spontoon, the blade sub-elliptical, the ferrule with simple annular ornament. It is preserved in the Old Colony Historical Society's cabinet at Taunton, and is labeled "carried by Captain Joseph Sanford at Lexington and Bunker Hill."

Figure 33. Highly developed spontoon dating probably from the late eighteenth century. Its apical blade is stout and keeled; its basal region broadly ovate, ornamented by file-work with a six-pointed star. The blade is attached to the wooden shaft by a long and somewhat ornate "turned" base and ferrule. An arrêt, or toggle, perforates the ferrule not far from the apical blade, its arms twisted forward and backward alternately. We note that the straps which fastened this arm to the shaft were arranged at the sides of the spontoon head, as in figure 29. At the butt of the shaft a serviceable ferrule is present. This arm is preserved in the Deerfield Museum; it is labeled as having been carried by Captain Joel Nims on training days at Shelburne; the arm is in excellent condition, though marred by modern paint.

Figure 34. Spontoon of Major-General John Sullivan. This is drawn from the pictured arm in his portrait (fig. 1), which is believed to antedate 1777;



FIGS. 28-42. AMERICAN SPONTOONS. SCALE 1:1

- 28. French (?), 1730-1760
- 29. 1755, Pell Collection
- 30. About 1770-1790, from Wrentham, Mass.
- 31. About 1770-1790. Carried by Ensign Lucius Graves
- 32. Carried by Capt. Joseph Sanford at Lexington and Bunker Hill
- 33. Late XVIII Cent. Carried by Capt. Joel Nims
- 34. 1777, or earlier. From portrait of Major-General John Sullivan
- 35. Revolutionary Period. Found near Fort George
- 36. Revolutionary Period. Taunton Historical Society
- 37. Revolutionary Period. Arsenal, Trenton
- 38. 1812. Carried by Col. John Russell
- 39. 1810-1840. Essex Institute
- 40. Revolutionary Period (?). Carried by Col. Thomas Gilbert (?)
- 41. 1800-1830, from Deerfield
- 42. Head of Banner Shaft. 1840

it illustrates clearly, therefore, the type of spontoon carried by staff officers during the Revolution. At the best it is a clumsy form, its blade spatulate; it is provided with a heavy socket, and an arrêt with globose ends.

Figure 35. Officer's spontoon of the Revolutionary period, the iron alone preserved. It was found near Fort George (Manhattan Island), and preserved in a small private collection¹⁴ in that locality, *fidé* John Ward Dunsmore and R. Pelham Bolton. In proportions it is not unlike the Sullivan arm, or for that matter the spontoon figured in a portrait of General David Wooster (1776).¹⁵ It has a long lozenge-shaped head, but lacks ferrule or socket, the

iron having been provided with a spike at its base which was driven into an iron-bound shaft. It is evidently the work of a competent local blacksmith. From tip to base it measures about eight inches.

Figure 36. Spontoons of the late eighteenth century, spatulate (inverted) in form, resembling figure 30. The crossbar is delicate, tipped with rudimentary bulbs. The ferrule is slender. It is preserved in the Historical Society's rooms, Taunton.

Figure 37. Spontoons of the late eighteenth century. The blade is lanceolate; the ferrule simple; the crossbar slender; the tips of the bars bent one to the right, one to the left. From a specimen in New Jersey State Arsenal, Trenton, according to a sketch kindly furnished by J. W. Dunsmore. Essentially similar specimens occur in various local collections, e.g., in Washington's headquarters, Newburgh, New York.

Figure 38. Spontoons of the period of the War of 1812. The blade is somewhat spatulate (inverted), its base frail and slightly ornamented, indicating that the arm was of little more than ceremonial value. The crossbar and socket are decorated with "turned" rings. From a specimen (no. 1068) in the Essex Institute, Salem. According to information given by L. W. Jenkins, Director of the Peabody Museum, this spontoons was carried by Colonel John Russell of the Salem Artillery (1815-1830).

Figure 39. Spontoons of 1810-1840, decadent in form, possibly used as the head of a banner shaft. The blade is acute, lanceolate; the crossbar short, ending in a ball; the ferrule with unimportant annular ornaments. From a specimen in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. A specimen in brass, similar to the preceding one, was on sale a year or two ago at the Boston Art Company's shop in Boston. Arms of this type were carried on October 4, 1814, at a brigade review between Salem and Marblehead, officers of the Essex Guard carrying spontoons instead of swords.¹⁶

Figure 40. Spontoons of iron, not later than the first quarter of the nineteenth century, possibly of Revolutionary date; decadent in form, similar to figure 39, but with crossbar slightly longer. From a specimen given by W. C. Waters to the Essex Institute; its label states that "it was carried in political parades during the Taylor campaign" (1848). See, however, below under figure 42.

Figure 41. Spontoons of the first third of the nineteenth century. The head is of "Deerfield type" (cf. fig. 31), reduced in size, with degenerate ferrule and eccentric crossbar of extraordinary width (flat), its tips curving alternately forward and backward. An heirloom of Derixa Nims, presented to the historical collection of Deerfield, Massachusetts.

Figure 42. Spontoons head (or head of banner shaft), 1840 (?), the blade thin-edged in section; socket degenerate; crossbar rudimentary. Brass. From a specimen in the Essex Institute labeled "carried by Colonel Thomas Gilbert, aid to General Artemas Ward at the battle of Bunker Hill"; its donor to the

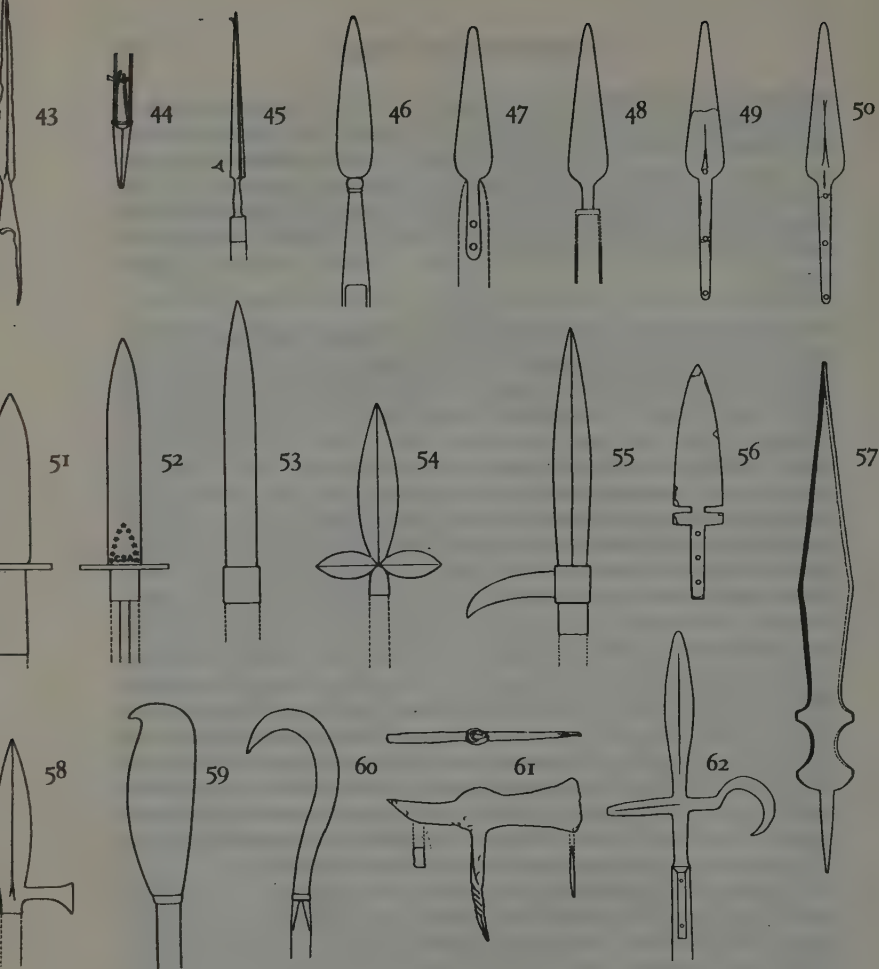
museum was H. F. Waters. There can be no doubt that the present specimen is of late date and is labeled inaccurately; it may have been confused with the first Waters spontoon (fig. 40), which, for the rest, corresponds in a general way with the Sullivan specimen (fig. 34), dating not later than 1777. This is the view of Mr. Jenkins, a kinsman of the donor, who recalls seeing the objects years ago and has the impression that H. F. Waters pointed out to him the iron spontoon, not the brass one, as having belonged to Colonel Gilbert.

PIKES

The half-pike, or spontoon, which became specialized during the eighteenth century as an officer's ceremonial arm, is in certain details of structure (e.g., in *arrêt*, basal lobes, ferrule) a degenerate halberd. Its shaft was rarely more than seven feet long; in cases it was even shorter—five feet or thereabouts. The pike, on the other hand, was provided with a shaft whose length, in the heyday of this arm, measured eighteen feet, or even more.¹⁷ Pre-Revolutionary pikes were often ten feet in length. The thickness of their shafts was rarely greater than one and three-quarters inches; their heads varied slightly in shape in various localities at different times. Actual specimens of pike-heads are not uncommon. Various forms of them appear in figures 43-58.

The first of these (fig. 43) shows pike-heads of the Revolutionary period, probably of the model designed by Dr. Benjamin Franklin; they were dug up at 196th Street and Fort Washington Avenue, from a rubbish heap dating from the time of our severe defeat, 1776.¹⁸ They are now exhibited as part of the Bolton Collection at the Jumel Mansion, New York City. It is clear that these specimens were serviceable arms, and in one case the shaft was evidently of extraordinary thickness, intended for heavy service. In the same region Mr. Bolton found numerous ferrules (fig. 44) which served doubtless for the bases of shafts. At one spot no less than twenty-seven of these were unearthed together. A bronze pike was also found in the neighborhood (fig. 45), having a thin-edged spike with well-formed neck and base.

Of similar date are numerous pike-heads in local collections. In the Morristown (New Jersey) Museum three specimens (figs. 46-48) are exhibited, all from the neighborhood and of the Revolutionary age. From excavations at West Point (redoubt 4, built in 1778) were found the pike-heads of figures 49 and 50. In a general way it is noted that pikes have changed little in the course of centuries; those carried in the War of 1812 were essentially like those just figured. Nor were pikes of Civil War times widely different. Their shafts were shorter (half-pike length, six and one-half to seven feet), but their heads were similar in size and weight. In this connection one may refer to the sales catalogue of the firm of Bannerman and Company, New York City, which figures the John Brown pike of 1857 and the Georgia pikes of 1862, including their variants, "clover-leaved" and "bridle-cutting" types.¹⁹ His figures are here reproduced, figures 51-55.²⁰ Of the John Brown pike (fig. 51), which helped, alas, to bring on the Civil War, over six hundred



FIGS. 43-62. AMERICAN PIKES.- SCALE 2:17

Pike-Head, Revolutionary Period
 Iron Butt Piece of Pike Found on Washington Heights
 Bronze Pike Head, Revolutionary Period
 Revolutionary Period, from Morristown
 Revolutionary Period, from Morristown
 Spear from Arnold Tavern, Morristown
 1778, from West Point
 1778, from West Point
 Bannerman Catalogue No. 520
 From Georgia, Bannerman Catalogue No. 521

53. Pike with Folding Blade, from Georgia
54. Clover-leaf Type, from Georgia
55. Bridle-cutting Type, from Georgia
56. Pike-Head, Pell Collection
57. Pike-Head, "American," New Hampshire Historical Society
58. Pike-Head, Pell Collection
59. Bill-Hook, Canal St., New York
60. Bill-Hook, Museum, Reading, Pa.
61. Miner's Axe, Calver Collection
62. Combination Bill-Hook, Pell Collection

specimens were captured at Harpers Ferry in 1859. The Georgia pikes were produced locally to the number of several thousands in response to Governor Joseph C. Brown's proclamation of July, 1862.

There remain to be described several eccentric types of polearm. In figure 56 is shown an iron pike-head with arrêt, which was dug up in Fort Ticonderoga, and is exhibited there in the Pell Collection. It is crudely made, and peculiar in being without straps for adjustment to the shaft. In this case the shaft was sawed, and the pike-head inserted in the slot, then made fast by three nails or rivets, the holes for which are seen in the base of the present object. It dates not later than the Revolutionary War. From its crude design it may have been used by Indians.

Figure 57 pictures a pike-head in the possession of the New Hampshire Antiquarian Society, respecting which the treasurer, Samuel M. Chase, of Hopkinton, New Hampshire, was so good as to furnish information. It is of considerable length—nearly two feet from tip to base. It is crudely sword-shaped, and is inserted by a spike-shaped butt in the iron-bound end of a shaft. The present object is a local find, and may have been of Indian origin. We know of nothing like it among European objects.

In figure 58 appears a curious pike-head with lateral branch which was probably used as a bridle cutter, a type, according to John Ward Dunsmore, well known in Revolutionary times. A specimen of it is preserved in the Newark Arsenal.

In figure 59 is shown a bill-hook which served doubtless as an arm as well as an agricultural implement in earlier times (seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries). Specimens of this form are preserved in local museums. The present example, in the writer's possession, was found in Canal Street, New York City, when trenches were being dug by the Consolidated Gas Company. Such an implement (or arm) was attached to a shaft by means of a basal spike.

Two other bill-hooks may be noted: the first is in the museum at Reading, Pennsylvania (fig. 60), here reproduced from a pencil sketch by the writer's friend, C. O. von Kienbusch. This dates probably from the second half of the eighteenth century, and is "Pennsylvania-Dutch." It may have been little more than a farmer's implement. The second, having an apical blade, is preserved in the Pell Collection at Fort Ticonderoga (fig. 62).

A final curious arm recalls a tomahawk (fig. 61); it was found in the refuse heap of the British Camp at 201st Street, New York City, and is in the collection of W. L. Calver, of New York.

Notes

13. The following is a true list of the Spontoons as they were taken by the Company Aug. 15, 1838.

S. S. Jones, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24	<i>Acct. of Cash Recd for Spontoons</i>	
Harison G. O. Bemis, Dr.—to 1		<i>Recd of Albert M. Sumner</i>	.24
Spontoon	.24	" " Warren Chapin	.24

James Chapin, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24	" " Clark Elliss	.24
Jones Butler, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24	" " Adin B. Underwood	.24
William Ware, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24	" " Rufus Chapin, Jr.	.24
Ethan Claflin, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24	" " Homer Warfield	.24
Warren Claflin, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24		
Willard Parkhurst—to 1 Spontoon	.24		\$1.44
		Amt brot forward	1.92
	\$1.92	2 spontoons Left with J. M.	.48
			\$3.84

Making 16 in number the Same that was bought of C. T. Eames—of which \$1.00 was pd out of the Subscription money the rest was pd by S. Walker of which he took the Cash that was Rec^d for Spontoons, the balance is Still due him—DEXTER WHELOCK.

14. A Hildebrandt, 1615 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City.

15. In the Print Department of the **Museum**.

16. cf. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* . . . , published by the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

17. During the sixteenth century the pike developed great length. In the seventeenth century Roger Boyle, 1st Earl of Orrery, in his *A Treatise of the Art of Warre* (London, 1677), recommends that all pikes should be sixteen and one-half feet long. Gaya in 1678 notes that the ashén pike staves should measure fourteen to fifteen feet. At the outbreak of the Revolution pikes were provided for soldiers and boatmen in considerable number; Dr. Franklin, following the tactics of Marshal Saxe, furnished the standard model, head eighteen inches long, shaft fourteen feet; they appear to have been discarded about 1778, or used only sporadically thereafter. In later times they became reduced to nine or ten feet (1832), when their use was discontinued in the British service. Later American pikes (which were really half-pikes or spontoons) measured six and a half feet, or even less.

Nicholas Boone, in his *Military Discipline* (Boston, 1706), p. 71, gives the following directions for saluting with the pike:

"An officer is to stand in the same posture with his pike ordered as a private soldier, only his arm stretched out, holding his pike at the arm's end, the butt-end at the same distance from his right foot, which keeps it upright.

"To salute standing, the officer is to fall back with the right arm and leg, keeping the spear of his pike directly to the rere sloped, just about the same height as a soldier's pike is when it is shouldered, his left to the front, and the middle of his right foot against the left heel, his left hand stretched out streight before him, he is to take hold of the pike, and turning it with his right hand, to quit that place he had hold of with his right hand, and taking hold of the butt-end with his right hand, he is to bring the spear of the pike close to the ground, but not to touch it, his fingers of both hands straight out, as soon as ever he has brought the spear so low, he is to raise the pike again, and to bring the spear backwards directly to the rere at the same height 'twas at, and bringing up his right foot at the same time, brings his pike up to the order 'twas at; and then he is to pull off his hat without bowing, and to keep it off till the person be past whom he salutes. He must be sure to observe to do every motion leisurely, and not too quick, and take care to have his salute timed, so that he may be ready to pull off his hat just as the person he salutes comes right against him.

"In saluting he must take care always to stand faced directly to the front, or that way the soldiers face: and to salute just so, let the person he salutes come which way he will.

"To salute marching, as soon as the officers approach the person they are to salute, they must be sure to shoulder their pikes from their comport altogether, and to take

great care that they do not swing them round, but only turn the spears directly backwards, and lay them as level as 'tis possible to carry them on their shoulders, their elbows out.

"When they salute they must take great care to do every motion exactly together, and leisurely. And therefore 'twould be necessary for one to give the word to the rest: and they are to take care that in saluting they neither stand still nor mend their pace.

"The first motion saluting is to dart their pikes leisurely, directly forward upon the same level as they are shouldered, stretching out their right hand as far as they can, advancing at the same time with the right foot, and then advancing with the left foot, bringing the right hand back, they turn their pikes directly forward bringing them near the ground, and then raising them again, they bring them to their shoulder upon a direct level as they were: which done, they pull off their hats without bowing, and keep them off till they are past by the person they salute.

"They must be sure to time their salute so, as to be ready to pull off their hats just as they come over against the person they salute.

18. cf. Robert Warwick Bingham, "The American Military Pike of '76," in *A Miscellany of Arms and Armor* (Bashford Dean Anniversary Volume) (New York, 1927), pp. 39-40. This paper gives complete documentation of the subject, and shows that in the early years of the Revolution as many as a thousand of these arms were in actual use.
19. Francis Bannerman, *Illustrated and Descriptive Catalogue of Military Goods*, No. 17 (New York, 1922), pp. 11 and 22.
20. Four such pikes from the arsenal at Augusta, Georgia, were presented to the Museum by Mrs. Jameson Gardner.

Other material used: *Court and Probate Records of Essex County, Mass.* (1634-1680); Louis de Gaya, *A Treatise of the Arms and Engines of War . . .* (London, 1678); *New Hampshire Provincial Papers*, VI (1872).

THE MILITARY LIBRARY

General von Steuben, by John McAuley Palmer. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. 434. \$4.00)

Of Benjamin Franklin it might well be said, in those words from the hymnal, that he moved "in a mysterious way his wonders to perform." Wonders he certainly did perform, not the least of which was the sale, as we would phrase it today, to the Continental Congress of the Baron von Steuben, "Lieutenant General in the Prussian Army and the Quartermaster General and friend of Frederick the Great." Actually he was not, nor had he ever been, any of these things, save perhaps the last. When he left the Prussian Army in 1763 he had attained only to the rank of Captain. Nevertheless, as such, he had been attached to the personal staff of the King, for whom he had discharged highly confidential duties. As his aide-de-camp he had been a member of the class in military art formed by Frederick at the close of the Seven Years War. This was composed of thirteen selected officers who had shown exceptional ability in the field. The King was the sole instructor of this class which was the germ of higher military education in Prussia. Steuben may thus be regarded, in spite of his other deficiencies, as a charter member of the Great General Staff.

General Palmer has developed, with keen insight and with considerable research, the story of how the Baron was inducted into the American service. He had been recommended to Franklin by Saint-Germain, the French Minister of War, for von Steuben, although out of employment and in debt, had friends in high places. The American representative immediately saw the great value he would be to the Revolution but he reasoned astutely that, in order to overcome the feeling in America against foreign officers, he must first increase the stature of his man. "He realized that his letter to Washington (presenting von Steuben) was really 'advertising copy.' The doctor had had considerable experience and success in that species of literature. He fully appreciated the sales value of emphasis and simplicity. And if he were going to sell a fictitious lieutenant general to his fellow countrymen for the good of their country, why not sell one with a well recognized trade-mark? The trade-mark of Frederick the Great would mean something to every intelligent man in America."

Thus advertised, von Steuben reported to Washington at Valley Forge in February 1778. There he found inspiration in the ill-clad, half-trained army of that terrible winter, for in it he recognized, in spite of its miserable condition, a soldiery superior to any he had ever before seen. Although the story of his regeneration of this force often has been told, General Palmer has been able to shed additional light on the problems with which the new Inspector General was faced. One realizes more forcibly than ever the tremendous credit which is due this man alone for that new and vital national force, trained and disciplined, which came out of Valley Forge. Truly his services were, as the tablet on his grave states: "Indispensable to the achievement of American Independence."

From the point of view of his own experience alone, General Palmer is particularly well equipped to write of such an officer as von Steuben. Not only did he serve on the General Staff of the United States Army, but in 1917 he became Assistant Chief of Staff, A.E.F., in France. His citation for the Distinguished Service Medal states: "In the organization of the operations section of the General Staff, American Expeditionary Forces, this officer displayed sound tactical judgment and breadth of vision, and the ultimate success of the American plan of campaign was largely to his detailed plans." Truly the problems of General von Steuben have been his own.

The book is well organized and contains good maps and a most creditable index. Much of the source material used is of German origin and was not available to earlier biographers. A good deal of it was brought to light by Anton B. C. Kalkhorst, a talented German-American journalist, whose findings appeared to refute the earlier biographies of the Baron and first tended to establish him largely as a downright liar. Yet General Palmer has made excellent critical use of this material and has, perhaps, saved von Steuben

from the derogations of the debunker as well as he has from the flummery of past historians. In short, he has shown us a gallant and able officer who yet was human.

JOHN R. M. TAYLOR.

Marlborough: His Life and Times, by The Right Honourable Winston S. Churchill, C.H., M.P.; Volume V (1705-1708). (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. 608. \$4.50.)

It now appears that with the publication of a single additional volume Churchill's great biography of Marlborough will be completed. It is indeed a work of which its versatile and prolific author may be proud: exhaustively documented, precise and definitive, it yet never trades the gay colours of eighteenth century life for the academic half-tones of the text-book. It recreates an age in order to demonstrate what Churchill considers the true worth and genius of the general whose complex mind and actions were both the mirror of his times, and, in part, their maker.

This present volume, the fifth, discusses the critical years of Ramillies, of Peterborough in Spain, of Alamanza, Stollhofen and Toulon, of Oudenarde, of the siege of Lille and of Wynendael. These are the years, too, of the political intrigue which led finally to Marlborough's downfall and of the beginnings in England of parliamentary government as we now know it.

By now, of course, Marlborough's personal reputation has been almost entirely rehabilitated, not only in previous volumes of this biography, but also by the work of George Macaulay Trevelyan, of Sir John Fortescue and of others. No one who has read the evidence now assembled can believe that Marlborough sold out armies and victories to the highest bidder, that he intrigued for Jacobite restoration while posing as the friend of Queen Anne, or that he lined his pockets at the expense of his soldiers. Churchill has succeeded in proving conclusively that the aspersions of Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* are without merit, founded on partisan propaganda, the exaggerated residue of intrigue. Marlborough's political morality may have been not wholly beyond reproach, but even had we not the evidence of innumerable letters and documents, many hitherto unprinted, the unfolding of the story of political intrigue still shows clearly why Marlborough was without friends in either party and why our unfortunate impressions of him have been so completely formed by the petty vituperation of both Whig and Tory.

This biography accomplishes the rare combination of truly valid understanding and description of military matters with keen characteristics and much colour, so that it firmly holds the interest of military historian and layman alike. The military operations are described with a wealth of detail, reinforced by such generosity in smaller maps and diagrams that the five large, folding maps, three of which are in colours, are made almost un-

necessary. The only disappointment this book can hold for the student of military history lies in Churchill's failure to point out the significance of Marlborough's methods in the field of strategy. In a day when warfare had settled down to a matter of siege and trench operations he restored mobility and surprise. From this point of view the story could be made, for the present day, more productive than that of almost any other of the great captains. The facts are here, however, for anyone who wishes to hunt them out; and for those interested in warfare without ulterior motive, or interested purely in the pageant eighteenth century life, manners, people, it it a grand book.

R. DANIEL SCOFIELD.

The Filibuster: The Career of William Walker, by Laurence Greene. (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1937. Pp. 350. \$3.50.

William Walker, the greatest of the filibusters, flourished in the period of "Manifest Destiny" which followed the Mexican War—a period when the conquest of distant provinces by private individuals still appeared feasible. From his first attempt against Sonora, by way of Lower California, to his extinction before a firing squad in 1860, his career followed the traditional lines of adventure. Mr. Greene does not make him out to be particularly capable as either general or diplomat and his life was certainly not crowned with success. Yet Walker had able military assistants in Charles Frederick Henningsen, an experienced soldier of fortune, in Swingle, an ingenious ordnance expert, and in Callender Irvine Fayssoux, of naval fame.

The bibliography on Walker is not large; his own *The War in Nicaragua*, published in 1860, is still the best source. Several of his followers have left contemporary accounts of his activity and the most important recent work appears to be William O. Scroggs' *Filibusters and Financiers* (1916). Mr. Greene's list of thirty books, then, would appear to pretty well cover the field. He has written a capable and needed biography of a very interesting and, in a sense, an important character.

DON RUSSELL.

Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man, by Charles Winslow Elliott. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. 817. \$5.00.)

In examining a new biography one learns to turn first to the bibliography. It may tell you as plainly as if it could speak whether the author has based his work upon adequate research or has cheerfully written it out of his own head. The bibliography appended to this new life of Winfield Scott is an exhaustive one; secondary works, printed sources and manuscripts are listed at length, including numerous collections of letters in the most varied and out-of-the-way places. If all these have really been used the research has been as thorough as is humanly possible. Turning to the text, a few minutes' reading is enough to show that the array of sources is not mere display but that the author has read, marked, and inwardly digested practically everything

that diligent search could unearth about his subject. He supports his statements with citations sufficiently but not oppressively numerous.

In a serious work like this substance is more important than style, but this is very readable as well as solid; a pleasant book to dip into, without any of the artificial sprightliness affected by many writers with brains to know better. The author is strongly impressed with Scott's greatness as a soldier and with the essential nobility of his character—as any thoughtful student of his life must be—but there is no indiscriminating eulogy. There are occasional references, of course, to Scott's "acute sensibility to criticism, his vanity and love of ostentation," and his "simple egotism and artless pride." These traits were so conspicuous that no writer can fail to mention them. But our author goes deeper. He notes Scott's contentiousness, his occasionally undignified quest for position and for money, his errors of judgment, and all without apology and without defence. That we end the book with profound admiration both for Scott's mind and for his character is due to the skill with which the author has blended all the man's traits into an intelligible unity.

The apportionment of space seems judicious. Scott's campaigns and battles occupied only a year or so of his long and active life and there is ample material for their study within everyone's reach. So while there is a full and understandable description of Scott's war service, the author has wisely kept this part of his work within due limits so as to give his peace-time activities the attention that they well deserve.

The book is meticulous in its accuracy. There seem to be literally no errors of fact except such wholly negligible slips as the reference to "the city of Windsor across the St. Clair from Detroit." The proofreading is good; only half a dozen errors were noted. There is a satisfactory index. To sum up, the book is all that a scholarly biography should be.

THOMAS M. SPAULDING.

If War Comes, by R. Ernest Dupuy and George Fielding Eliot. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. 369. \$3.00.)

To all for whom military history is a guide to the warfare of the present and future day there is recommended *If War Comes*, written by two majors, one of the Regular Army and the other of the Reserve Corps. It is a compendium of orthodox military thought on modern war, based, to a somewhat large degree, upon the lessons of military history, particularly in the chapters on "The Basic Rules" and "The Soul of the Warrior." A preliminary chapter gives a summary of the Spanish revolution to May, 1937.

The authors have attempted to forecast war as it will be fought on land, on sea, and in the air, and how it will affect civilian populations. The most interesting chapters for the student of military history will be those detailing the geographical factors which direct the defense plans of the various powers. The chapter on "Paths of Conquest" is especially stimulating. These sections, however, could have been much improved by the use of less simplified maps.

The interest which this book has created may be judged by the fact that it has been included in one of the motion picture series "The March of Time," dealt with at length by General Hugh S. Johnson in his column, and commented upon in the august editorial page of the *New York Times*. Designed in the main for the layman, it is particularly interesting if read in connection with one of the more popular political surveys of the present era by such writers as John Gunther, Walter Duranty, or H. R. Knickerbocker.

ROBERT T. WEAVER.

Greek and Roman Naval Warfare. A Study of Strategy, Tactics, and Ship Design from Salamis (480 B.C.) to Actium (31 B.C.), by William Ledyard Rodgers. (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute. 1937. Pp. xv, 555. \$6.00.)

It is a pleasure to welcome from the pen of an American naval officer the most comprehensive treatment of Greek and Roman naval warfare that has appeared so far in the English language and one that will hold its own with the best European works in this field. Of the eighteen chapters, the first is devoted to a discussion of the objectives of naval warfare, chapters II-IX to the wars of the Greek states prior to 301 B.C., and the remainder to Roman naval operations from the first Punic War to 31 B.C. The detailed treatment of naval operations is preceded in each case by a sketch of the political and economic background, and accompanied by a survey of associated army operations on land.

In addition, special problems of ship construction at various periods are dealt with in four appendixes, while others contain Aeschylus' account of the battle of Salamis, a discussion of the Greek and Persian forces in the campaigns of 480-479, and an attempt to estimate the cost of wars at the end of the fourth century B. C. No less than eighteen general and detailed maps help to interpret the narrative and there are also thirty-nine illustrations of various kinds. A good index of place names completes the volume which is a distinct credit both to the author and to the publisher.

The author has gone to the ancient sources for his details and has made good use of modern critical treatments. One would like, however, to add a few titles to his authorities, e.g.: Admiral Sir Reginald Custance's *War at Sea* for its parallel but different treatment of the campaign of Salamis and the Peloponnesian War; F. Miltner's articles on "Seekrieg" and "Seewesen" in *Real-Encyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplbd. V, 863-905, 906-962; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* as a corrective to Delbrück on the numbers in the second Punic War; Tenny Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. I for the Roman resources; and something more up to date than Ferrero or Merivale on Roman history from 49 to 36 B.C. Incidentally, it would have been a great help to critical readers to have adopted standard historical practice in citing the titles and texts of ancient and modern works.

The historical survey is, of course, brief and does not enter into many

controversial matters. It might be pointed out, however, that the opening part of paragraph two on page 14 is so condensed as to be apt to confuse the reader; that 200,000 seems much too high a number for the Athenian slaves, and that it is extremely dubious if any of the latter were ever used on Athenian ships until the later years of the Peloponnesian War (page 126). The discussions of naval strategy and tactics are models of clarity and with their conclusions the reviewer finds himself in close agreement. May not, however, the small size of the Greek force at Thermopylae be best explained by regarding it as calculated to hold the pass for a limited time only, during which the Greek fleet was expected to win a decisive victory off Artemisium?

As the author himself emphasizes our lack of evidence regarding many features of ancient warships and the tentative character of all suggested reconstructions, he will hardly expect complete agreement with his own views. The reviewer has been unable to find either archaeological or literary support for the use of more than one rower to each oar on Greek fighting ships before the close of the fifth century. Consequently, the penteconter had probably from twenty to twenty-five oars on each side, and not, as Serre believes (pages 38ff.), thirteen oars to a side with two rowers to all but the forward oars. The hecatonter, of one hundred oars, seems to be entirely fictional. Nor can we dismiss the Greek *biere* (*bireme*) as a penteconter with two rowers and two oars to each thwart, when as early as 700 B. C. the Phoenicians were using decked *dieres* with two banks of oars, one higher than the other. This is the logical transition from the penteconter to the *triere* (*trireme*). As for the latter, the Acropolis relief appears to support the reconstruction of Busley (page 48) with the *thranite* oars carried on a outrigger platform and their rowers seated above the lowest tier of oarsmen (the *thalamites*), rather than that of Serre (page 47) where the *thranites* sit further inboard than the two lower ranks (*cf.* A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen*, chap. VI). Finally, the Palestrina ship of Roman times (page 514) may be a *quadrireme*, for, above the two rows of oars in action, there is apparently a row of shipped oars with only the tips of the blades showing in the ports, and these are twice as numerous as those in each of the lower rows. So there may have been two rowers each with an oar on the uppermost thwarts and one rower to each thwart and each oar in the lower tiers.

It is sincerely to be hoped that Admiral Rodgers will carry out his purpose of continuing his story of naval warfare to the Battle of Lepanto.

A. E. R. BOAK.

Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians, by George E. Hyde. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1937. Pp. 332. \$3.50.)

Few histories of Indian tribes have been done as carefully and as authoritatively as this by Mr. Hyde. He has approached his task with a high degree of skepticism, he has used his sources with great caution, he has rejected almost everything told him by the Oglalas of today, and yet he has been able to reconstruct the wanderings of this Siouxan tribe from Minnesota in 1660

to the present day. It is a thoroughgoing work, representing great research, and it is presented in a most entertaining manner.

There will, of course, be many objections to Mr. Hyde's findings, particularly to his freely-expressed points of view. He is sometimes anti-Army, usually anti-Government, and almost always anti-Indian, and, while this last may come as welcome relief to readers of the somewhat pro-Indian literature of today, his cynicism appears a bit too all-embracing.

Red Cloud's Folk is one of the few books which give any attention to Indian tactics and strategy, in spite of the fact that the author has a very low opinion of the generalship of such chiefs as Sitting Bull. The Indian approach march, as it was conducted on several occasions, is described in some detail. Writing of the Oglalas principally, and of Red Cloud's band in particular, the book nevertheless is in effect a history of the entire Sioux nation. It covers the wars of this nation down to 1878, when they became agency Indians. Naturally it is written largely from the Indian point of view and there are few details of the movement of government troops. Nevertheless, the book will prove most useful in the study of the Powder River expedition of 1865, the wars of 1866-1868, and the war of 1876.

DON RUSSELL.

OTHR RECENT BOOKS

Twenty Years as Military Attaché, by Colonel T. Bentley Mott. (New York, London, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. 342. \$3.50.) Entertaining military-diplomatic reminiscences, particularly instructive concerning the relations between Generals Foch and Pershing.

Warfare: a Study of Military Methods from the Earliest Times, by Oliver Lyman Spaulding, Hoffman Nickerson, and John Womack Wright. (Washington: The Infantry Journal. 1937. Pp. 601. \$3.00) New edition of this scholarly history of warfare, first published in 1924.

Why We Went to War, by Newton D. Baker. (New York: Council on Foreign Relations. 1937. Pp. 192. \$1.50.) Brief, but authoritative, survey of the diplomatic negotiations leading to our entrance into the World War, by the former Secretary of War.

The Enemy Within, by Captain Henry Landau. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1937. Pp. 323. \$3.00.) A popular account of German sabotage in America.

The Voyage of Forgotten Men: Tsushima, by Frank Thiess; translated by Fritz Sallagar. (Indianapolis, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1937. Pp. 415. \$3.50.) A thorough survey of Admiral Rozhestvensky's voyage from the Baltic Sea to defeat at Tsushima, 1905. Upholds Rozhestvensky's strategy in sharp disagreement with the recently published *Tsushima* of A. Novikoff-Priboy (JOURNAL, I, 35.)

A History of Militarism, by Alfred Vagts. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1937. Pp. 510. \$4.75.) A scholarly and revealing study of militarism as distinct from the military. To be reviewed later.

The Second Admiral: A Life of David Dixon Porter, by Richard S. West, Jr. (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. 1937. Pp. 376. \$5.00.) To be reviewed later.

Rolling into Action, by Captain D. E. Hickey. (London: Hutchinson & Company. 1937. Pp. 288. \$3.75.) Realistic memoirs of a tank officer in the World War.

West Point Today, by Kendall Banning. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 1937. Pp. 312. \$2.50.) A thoroughgoing handbook of the Military Academy, covering almost every phase of its activity. Written in a popular style, it contains information of value to everyone who might go there, from "femmes" to field marshals. Several chapters and a chronology are devoted to historical background.

A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century, by Sir Charles Oman. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1937. Pp. 784. \$6.00.) A most valuable addition to military-historical literature. To be reviewed later.

General Philip Kearney, Battle Soldier of Five Wars, by Thomas Kearney. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1937. Pp. 496. \$4.00.) Considerable research into the life of a gallant soldier by an apparently devoted grandson—obscured by clumsy writing.

Marcus Agrippa: Organizer of Victory, by F. A. Wright. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1937. Pp. 268. \$2.50.) The biography of a leading Roman who was responsible for much of the success gained by Augustus. Interesting from the military point of view.

Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill, by Captain W. S. Nye. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1937. Pp. 459. \$3.00.) To be reviewed later.

The Great Adventure, by Edwin C. Parsons. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company. 1937. Pp. 335. \$2.75.) The story of the Lafayette Escadrille, told in a popular and readable fashion.

One Hundred and Seventy-five Battles by Land, Sea and Air, by Roger Shaw, edited by S. C. Vestal. (Harrisburg: Military Service Publishing Company. 1937. Pp. 268. \$2.00.) Brief and simplified accounts of the decisive battles from 490 B. C. to our own day.

Military History of the World War, by Girard Lindsley McEntee. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. 583. \$7.50.) To be reviewed later.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SURVIVALS OF AMERICAN SERVICE IN BRITISH REGIMENTS. Only a few British regiments had their beginnings in the New World, yet many retain reminders of their services on this continent in such forms as nicknames or peculiarities of uniform. Quite recently the officers and men of the Royal Berkshire Regiment began to wear a patch of red cloth as background to their cap badge, a distinction heretofore belonging solely to the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry. Records, recently discovered, reveal that the Royal Berkshires were linked with the latter unit in the exploit which won them their right to display the patch.

On the banks of the Brandywine Creek, on September 26, 1777, a battalion composed of the light companies of several British regiments, including those of the Forty-sixth and Forty-ninth Foot (now the 2nd Battalion, Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry and the 1st Battalion, Royal Berkshire Regiment, respectively), made a surprise night attack upon a detachment of General Wayne's brigade, inflicting considerable loss upon them. The Americans subsequently sent word that "the light bobs had better look out as no quarter would be given them." Thereupon, the men of the light battalion stained the white feathers in their hats red and informed the Americans of what they had done, in order that no other British troops might suffer on their account.

At the conclusion of the War of Independence, the light company of the Forty-sixth Foot alone continued to display the red feather. In accordance with a change general throughout the British army some years later, the feather gave place to a red ball, worn on the shako, which, after the abolition of flank companies, was adopted by the entire regiment, and worn until the shako was replaced by the cloth helmet. The design on the helmet plate of the D. C. L. I. at first showed, among other commemorative details, two red feathers in brass on a background of green velvet. Later, the affair at Brandywine Creek was recalled by the display of a brass feather on the helmet plate together with a background of scarlet cloth, and today the regiment continues to show the red patch behind the badge on the khaki cap, the observance which the Royal Berkshires have just begun to share.

While on the subject of the wearing of patches under the badge, one example of the earning of such a distinction, not precisely on this continent nor in battle, but nevertheless in the Western Hemisphere and under most trying circumstances, is of unusual interest. In the eighteenth century, a man enlisted in the British Army for life. Furthermore, the control of that branch of the fighting forces was vested in thirteen different government offices, with an almost complete absence of central authority. These facts often resulted in regiments being sent overseas and left there, almost on their own, for long periods of time. The men of the South Staffordshire Regiment now have a visible reminder that their predecessors once suffered this fate for a stretch of almost sixty years.

Barely three years after the regiment, then listed as the Thirty-eighth Foot, had been raised, it was sent, in 1705, to the West Indies. Of the original group which went out, only a handful ever saw England again. At one period the officers were unpaid for seven years and the men at last became so crippled from sickness in the unhealthy climate of that part of the world that they were barely able to move about. From 1705 to 1763 they never once received a new uniform and to commemorate the sacking with which the clothing was at first mended and later which became their sole costume, the present regiment now wears small patches of brown holland under the cap and collar badges. In 1909, almost a hundred and fifty years after they had been earned, battle honors were awarded to the regiment for their services at Martinique and Guadaloupe, during the Seven Years War.

Five short black ribbons fastened to the back of the collar is a peculiarity of the uniform, both dress and service, of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. In 1808, when the wearing of the pigtail by British soldiers was discontinued by order, the famous regiment was in Nova Scotia and did not comply. Upon returning to England the men were not permitted to retain their queues, but as a mark of distinction the five ribbons, known as the "flash," were adopted in place of the queue-bag in which the pigtails had been enclosed in order to protect the men's coats from grease and hair-powder.

The men of the Gloucestershire Regiment, then known as the Twenty-eighth Foot, are said to have acquired the nickname of the "Slashers" at the Battle of White Plains in October, 1776, when, running short of ammunition, they attacked with their short swords. The "Springers" are the Wiltshire Regiment, which fought at the Battle of Stillwater in 1777, as the Sixty-second Foot, and acted as light infantry. "Spring up" was a light infantry word of command in those days, and after the action General Burgoyne (who later was to surrender at Saratoga) rode up to the Sixty-second with the greeting "Well done, my brave Springers!"—their nickname to this day.

The "Bloodsuckers," the nickname of the Manchester Regiment, also originated in America, in a most curious fashion. After the capture of Guadaloupe in 1759, the regiment, then the Sixty-third Foot, adopted the French fleur-de-lys as their badge, and this was carved on the tombstones of those of the Sixty-third who fell in the Revolutionary War. The symbol, being made very small on this occasion, suggested a mosquito rather than a fleur-de-lys, and the regiment had acquired its nickname.

The Fifty-fourth Foot, now the 2nd Battalion of the Dorchester Regiment, earned its nickname of the "Flamers" when the men had a hand in the burning of New London in 1781, and the Twenty-ninth Foot, now the 1st Battalion of the Worcestershire Regiment, were given their nickname of "Vein-openers" by the people of Boston when they drew first blood in the struggle between England and the Colonies at the "Boston Massacre" of March 5, 1770.

The havercake is a round oatmeal cake peculiar to the West Riding of Yorkshire. The custom of recruiting-sergeants for the Duke of Wellington's Regiment going about their duties in that part of England, during the War of Independence, with havercakes on the points of their swords has given the men of the regiment the nickname of the "Haver-cake Lads." It is supposed that the enticement worked satisfactorily because of the prevalence of famine in that section of the country at that time. However, the Thirty-third Foot, by which title the regiment was then known, surrendered with Cornwallis at Yorktown.

No honors were granted to British regiments for services in the Revolutionary War, but a few were earned during the War of 1812. These are "Niagara," "Bladensburg," "Queenstown," "Detroit," and "Miami," and these names are displayed on the colors of the regiments concerned.

EMIL JOHN RUCKERT

THE CENTENNIAL OF A UNIFORM. There have been few regiments in any army which have worn an almost identical uniform for as long as one hundred years. Yet the Seventh Regiment, New York (107th Infantry) have continued to use their distinctive full dress for an even longer period of time with only minor changes in the form of the headdress. A drawing of this century-old uniform, together with the outline of its story, was prepared for the JOURNAL by the late Brigadier General DeWitt Clinton Falls a few weeks before his untimely death in England on September 7, 1937. Most of the details will be found in Colonel Emmons Clark's monumental *History of the Seventh Regiment of New York* (2 vols., 1890). General Falls' illustration, the last to come from his talented pen, is accompanied by a photograph taken in 1937 of the modern uniform, kindly furnished by the present organization.



D.W.C. FALLS
1937

PRIVATE, 27th REGIMENT, N.Y.S.M., 1837
Drawing by the late Brigadier General DeWitt Clinton Falls.



PRIVATE, SEVENTH REGIMENT, NEW YORK (107th INFANTRY,
N.G.N.Y.), 1937.

Photograph furnished by the Seventh Regiment.

In the Regiment of a century ago (then called the 27th Regiment, National Guard) there was no over-great cohesion between the companies. They were "separate" in fact as well as in name. Any changes of a regimental nature, such as in dress, were decided upon by committees appointed for the purpose, usually consisting of several enlisted men from each of the eight companies and a number of officers detailed by the Regiment. This influence allowed the soldier in the choice of his uniform becomes understandable when we realize that he alone bore the expense of such a change. These committees, perhaps to insure attendance, appear always to have met at Stoneall's Shakespeare Tavern, a celebrated and well-equipped hostelry in lower New York.

In 1834 such a committee convened to decide on a new bill of dress. Since 1825 the Regiment had worn a distinctive gray coat with white trousers and a high shako. This uniform, while still popular, was considered by many as outmoded and there had been much agitation, particularly among the officers, for a change. In spite of the conciliatory possibilities of the council-room the meeting was far from harmonious. Some of the company representatives bitterly opposed the idea, others favored it, while still others announced that their companies would go so far as to adopt the new items of dress regardless of whether the Regiment approved or not; and thus the first meeting broke up in high dudgeon. Other gatherings followed in rapid succession, but feeling was too intense and little or nothing was accomplished that year.

The Board of Officers as a whole favored a change, but realized by this time that if anything were to be accomplished it would have to be advocated with much greater finesse. Convening early in 1835, the officers decided upon exactly what they wanted and planned exactly how to get it. A full bill of dress was prepared in advance and attractive models were secured. Then the Regiment's newly elected commander, Colonel Morgan L. Smith, as his first official act, invited the members of the organization to meet the field officers at the Tavern on January 15. No records exist to tell how many men actually were able to accept this invitation, but it is safe to say that all came who possibly could. Some idea of the number may be gained by the fact that the Regiment had been able to turn out, within the allotted three hours, at least three hundred soldiers under arms on several occasions during the riots of the previous year. We may assume that at least this number attended at the Tavern that night.

Those who assisted found it well worth their while. From all points of view the meeting may be called a success. In the words of Colonel Clark: "The fervent appeals of the new field-officers, strongly supported by a fine entertainment and a free flow of champagne, produced the desired result, and the changes proposed were adopted with great enthusiasm and unanimity." Expensive, perhaps, unique certainly, but undoubtedly an effective method; for the uniform chosen at that meeting has endured to our own day.

The new dress was worn by the full Regiment the following June. In 1836, oddly enough while doing another tour of riot duty, the addition of a pair of epaulettes was approved and by 1837 the uniform as we know it today was being worn by all of the companies.

FRED PORTER TODD

COAT OF ARMS OF THE SECOND CAVALRY. Mr. Edward C. Kuhn, of North Tonawanda, N. Y., has called to our attention that the coat of arms of the Second Cavalry as illustrated on page 107 of the *JOURNAL* (Fall, 1937) is not drawn according to the blazon. In other words, while the outlines are accurate, the colors have not been correctly tricked (indicated in black and white lines by a conventional system). Mr. Kuhn's criticism is quite justified and has been supported by the Office of the Quartermaster General. Through the courtesy of Mr. A. E. DuBois of that office, we have been furnished with the official drawing of the coat of arms, as prepared for the standard of the Regiment. It is reproduced herewith. While it will be noted that the shape of the shield differs from that previously shown, the shape has actually no heraldic significance.



THIS COAT OF ARMS IS PREPARED FOR THE STANDARD OF
SECOND REGIMENT CAVALRY
IT IS FULL SIZE AND IN PROPER RELATION TO THE TABLE



REDRAWN & REVISED FROM DRAWING

CE 5-6-13 DATED JUNE 4 1921



BLAZON

ARMS: Tenné, a dragon in the uniform of the Mexican War mounted on a white horse brandishing a sabre and charging a Mexican field gun defended by a gunner armed with a rammer all proper; in chief two eight pointed mullets or.
CREST: On a wreath of the colors the head dress of the dragons of 1836 proper.
MOTTO: Toujours Prêt.

Of equal importance is the fact that the wreath (shown in the original drawing directly beneath the hat) is also incorrectly drawn. Such a wreath is always composed of the principal metal and the principal color of the shield, divided into six twists which alternate: metal—color—metal—color—metal—color. Since the metal gold is the only one given in the blazon and since tenné (orange) is the color of the shield, these two form the metal and color of the wreath. Note how this has been tricked in the accompanying drawing.

In connection with this discussion of the coat of arms—and, incidentally, to answer at the same time several other criticisms—we want to point out that this is not the regimental insignia of the unit. On this score Mr. DuBois writes: "The coat of arms consists of a shield, crest, and motto, and is approved basically for use on the regimental color or regimental standard. The distinctive insignia for wear on the uniform may or may not be composed of these elements."

Queries

18. FILIPINO FLAG. A Filipino flag has been presented to this headquarters by Mrs. C. Mark Taylor, niece of the late Lt. Col. John Howard who, during the first insurrection, was captain, 19th Infantry, and at the time of Aguinaldo's capture (March 23, 1901) a temporary major, commanding the 3rd Battalion of the 48th U. S. Volunteer Infantry (colored).

Mrs. Taylor makes this statement: "Aguinaldo's headquarters' flag . . . was given me by my uncle about two years after he, in command of his company as Captain at that time, made the final assault and surrounded the buildings in which the Filipino Insurrection leader was making his last stand. The flag was flying above the roof top and has a few bullet holes from the attacking party." Unfortunately, the clippings and records in the possession of Mrs. Taylor which relate to the incident have been so damaged by time as to be illegible.

Research so far has developed that Captain Howard took no part in the final capture of Aguinaldo. However, he and the 19th Infantry were present upon a number of puni-

tive expeditions and engagements prior to Aguinaldo's capture and it is believed that this flag must have been obtained in one of these engagements. The regimental records of the 19th Infantry shed no light on the incident, nor do those of the Historical Section, Army War College. From the inception of the Philippine Insurrection until the capture of Aguinaldo, *Heitman's Historical Register* gives no less than seventy-six engagements in which elements of the 19th Infantry have participated.

The flag, itself, is the usual Catipunan emblem. I would welcome any information which might shed some light upon its capture.

MAJOR R. ERNEST DUPUY

19. BOOKS ON ARMY CUSTOMS. Have any books been published covering the customs and traditions of the United States Army, similar in scope, for instance, to *Naval Customs, Traditions, and Usage* by Leland P. Lovette, published by the U. S. Naval Institute?

H. B. T.

20. DE CAMP HOSPITAL. Can you furnish any information concerning the identity of person for whom the De Camp General Hospital, established in 1863 on Davids Island, Long Island Sound, N. Y., was named?

MAJOR STUART CUTLER

Replies

11. CADET UNIFORM, U. S. M. A. A number of replies to this query have been received. These will be investigated at greater length and presented in condensed form in the following issue.

EDITOR

12. CODES AND CIPHERS. In a *cipher* system, the individual letters or pairs of letters of the plain language text are either: (1) re-arranged in an entirely different order; or (2) they are replaced in the secret text by other letters, or figures, or symbols. The first method is *transposition* cipher, the second *substitution* cipher.

A cryptogram in *code* is produced by taking the letters, syllables, words, phrases and even whole sentences of the plain text and replacing them by arbitrary groups of letters or figures listed as their equivalents in a *code book*.

MAJOR DONALD D. MILLIKIN

13. CONFEDERATE RATIONS. The Confederate Army ration of 1862 was three-quarters of a pound of bacon or pork or one and a quarter pounds of fresh or salt beef; eighteen ounces of bread or flour or twelve ounces of hard bread or one and a quarter pounds of corn meal. On campaigns, marches, or transports the ration was increased to one pound of hard bread. In addition, for every one hundred men there was an allowance of eight quarts of peas or beans or ten pounds of rice; six pounds of coffee, twelve pounds of sugar, and four quarts of vinegar.

By 1864 the coffee and sugar allowance had disappeared entirely from the ration, which had been reduced further to one half pound of bacon or pork to troops on marches or at work, and one-third pound to stationary troops; one and a half pounds of corn meal or flour or twelve ounces of hard bread. In addition, for every one hundred men there was allowed eight quarts of peas or beans or ten pounds of rice; and four quarts of vinegar, this last to prevent scurvy. As a substitute for coffee, many soldiers used parched corn, and molasses took the place of sugar when it was available. As early as the latter part of 1862 this scarcity of coffee and sugar began to be felt and soon their price was prohibitive. Later in the war the possession of either of these luxuries, even by a general officer, was an occasion for a banquet. Louisiana soldiers received the same rations as other Confederate troops and—towards the end of the conflict—took anything they could get.

RICHARD D. STEUART

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